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NEW LIGHT ON THE HISTORY OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS[1]

By B. BHATTACHARYA

Slave mentality is nowhere more in evidence than in the field of Indian scholarship, especially among them who may be styled as the 'highbrows.' Anything that is promulgated by the Western scholars must be a revelation, and therefore correct, and all Indian traditions, however sound they may be, should be rejected as useless even without examination. We have made Western scholars our *Gurus*, and because they are of opinion that the Purāṇas are worthless as historical documents, we in India do not touch them, although some of the Purāṇas are capable of furnishing most remarkable facts of history in the most scientific manner possible thereby helping us to reconstruct our ancient history to the satisfaction of all, the sanskritist, the historian, the epigraphist, the numismatist and the palæographer.

In the present paper, I propose to deal with one topic amongst scores, representing only a minute fraction of Purāṇic tradition, to show how the Purāṇas throw a

[1] A detailed paper on the subject is in preparation which will give extracts in original from the Purāṇas, and compare the Purāṇa evidence with that known already from inscription, coins and other sources. This paper represents the cream of the information obtained from the Purāṇas.

flood of light on the history of the Imperial Guptas. Any student of Indian history can compare the Gupta history as given in the text-books with the history as available in the Purāṇas, and judge for himself the utility of the latter.

The *Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa* from which we draw our material, as usual, contains a portion which gives the history of the kings of the Kali Era. In it interesting material appears, delineating the history of the Imperial Gupta dynasty, although it is not found in our authoritative history books. Thinking that the details as given in this Purāṇa may be of some use to our scholars, I incorporate them in the present article.

According to the *Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa*, the Andhra king Candraśrī Śatakarṇī was ruling in Magadha (in the beginning of the 4th century A.D.) before the advent of the Guptas. At that time Candra Gupta son of Ghaṭotkaca Gupta and the grandson of Śrī Gupta the king of Śrīparvata in Nepal, married Kumāradevī the daughter of the king of Nepal. Through this alliance Candra Gupta gained influence in the Government of Candraśrī, and soon became the commander-in-chief and the head of a large army. Thereafter, Candra Gupta married a Licchavi princess who was the younger sister of the Queen of Candraśrī and thus became the ruling chief's brother-in-law. Later on, Candra Gupta was instigated by the Queen of Candraśrī to have her husband killed by a strategem. On the death of Candraśrī the Queen appointed Candra Gupta as the Regent of the young king Puloman, the son of Candraśrī, and passed seven years in that capacity. Thereafter, Candra Gupta killed the young king Puloman, and seized the kingdom from the Andhras. Then he ruled over the Magadha kingdom as an independent king with the help of Kaca his son by the Licchavi wife. Candra Gupta

ruled for seven years under the title of *Vijayāditya* and established an era in his own name. Candra Gupta's career was cut short by murder by his son Samudra Gupta born of the first wife Kumāradevī.

With regard to Samudra Gupta the *Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa* says that he was a *Cakravartī* king and was the *dauhitra* (grandson) of the king of Nepal. With the help of *Mleccha* soldiers he killed his treacherous father along with his sons and relatives, and brought pleasure to his suffering mother. Samudra Gupta became famous as *Aśokāditya* and performed the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice according to prescribed rules. He was worshipped by all kings, Indian and foreign, and was proficient in the Śāstras, Sāhitya and music, and was praised by poets. Samudra Gupta ruled for 51 years, and enjoyed the earth without a rival.

Samudra Gupta was followed by his son Candra Gupta II in the throne of Magadha. He was a lion among heroes, and drove away the Yavanas and the Hūṇas from the country. He became famous by his title of *Vikramāditya*, was surrounded by scholars and learned men and was an expert in Śruti, Smṛti, Purāṇa, Itihāsa and Kāvya. Crossing over the seven Sindhus, he conquered the Bāhlīkas, and erected pillars of fame up to the Saurāṣṭra country. Candra Gupta II ruled for 36 years and enjoyed the earth without a rival.

Kumāra Gupta, Candra Gupta's son born of Dhruvadevī, then became king. He destroyed his own enemies, just as God Kumāra destroyed the enemies of the gods, the Daityas. Kumāra Gupta performed a horse-sacrifice and became known by his second appellation of *Mahendrāditya*, and ruled over the earth for 42 years.

Skanda Gupta son of Kumāra Gupta then ruled over Magadha. He was like God Skanda, and by his prowess

the pride of the Hūṇas was melted and Puṣyasena was destroyed. Skanda Gupta became known as *Parākramāditya* and ruled over the whole earth for 25 years.

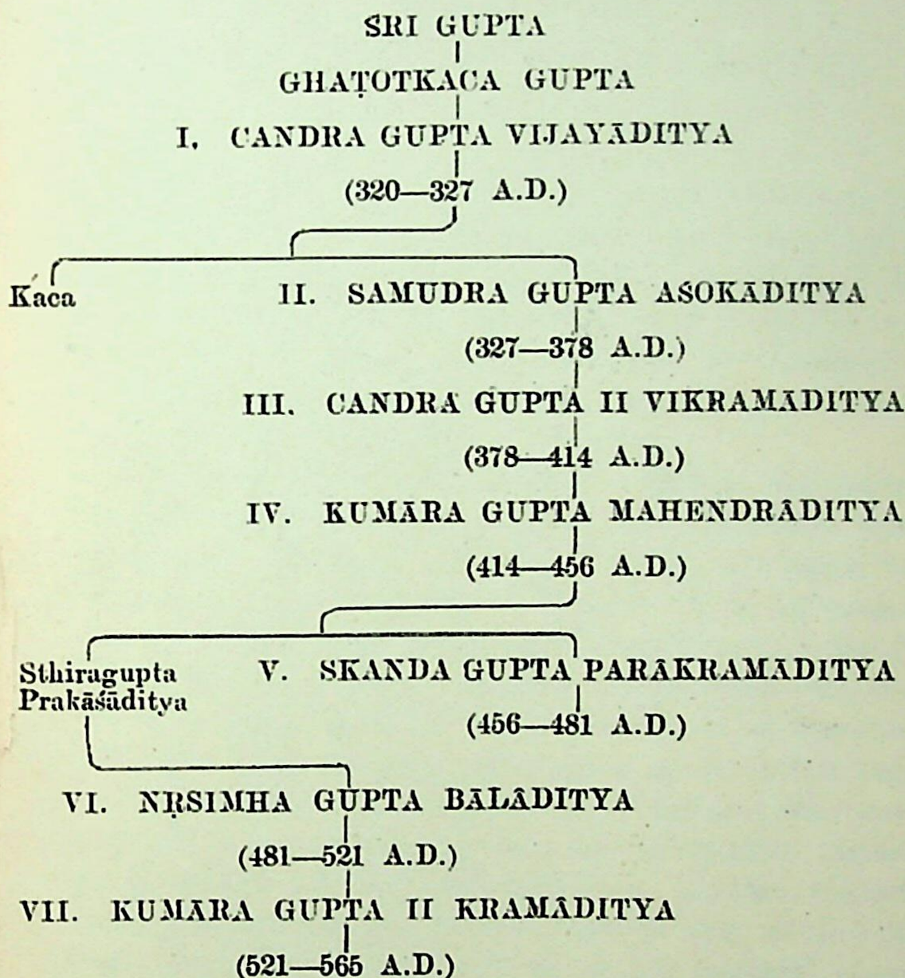
After him Nṛsiṁha Gupta son of Sthira Gupta Prakāśāditya became king. He was placed on the throne by his uncle Skanda Gupta. Nṛsiṁha became known by the appellation of *Bālāditya* and ruled with the help of his father for 24 years.

Kumāra Gupta II son of Nṛsiṁha Gupta then became king and became famous as *Kramāditya* by reason of his valiant fight with the Hūṇas. He conquered Īśānavarman, was served faithfully by Bhaṭṭārka, and ruled over the earth for 44 years.

The Imperial Gupta kings were seven in number, they were respected by their Sāmantas and were known as *Pārvatīya Āndhrabhṛtya* 'servants of the Andhra kings and belonging to the hill tribes'. All of them were *Cakravartī* kings and bore the imperial titles of *Mahārājādhirāja* and others, and they collectively reigned for a total period of 245 years. The great kingdom of Magadha which was altogether shatterred became stable when the kings of the Gupta family were ruling.

The above is summary account of the Imperial Guptas as preserved in the *Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa*. The Purāṇa story supplies flesh and blood to the skeleton history as constructed by modern scholars with the help of coins, inscriptions and accounts of foreign travellers, and has a utility of its own. The account furnishes us with many details hitherto unknown to the world of scholars, *e.g.*, the origin of the family, the intrigues by which they came to power, the assassination of Candra Gupta by his son Samudra Gupta, and similar events of great historical importance, besides supplying their correct reign periods which are absolutely in accord with data known from inscriptions, coins and other original material.

The genealogy of the Imperial Guptas is set forth in the table as under :—



THE ESOTERIC TEACHING IN *NALOPĀKHYĀNA*
OR
AKṢA-HṚDAYA AND *AŚVA-HṚDAYA*

By K. C. VARADACHARI

It was when I was perusing the *Nalopākhyāna* recently that I came across certain passages which gave me the cues into the urderstanding not indeed of the truth as such but what these figures of this great drama of life stood for. I do not consider that I shall not be considered to have read into the story much more than what are contained in it by way of suggestion or *dhvani*.

The story itself is a simple one. Nala, a fine knower of horses and their ways, a strong and imperious King, blessed with a perfect body was chosen in a *svayam-vara* by Damayantī, the daughter of Bhīma, one in all respects matched to him, who chose him in preference to the five Gods of Heaven. They, the gods, blessed Nala with their *siddhis* or occult powers. Thus lived Nala in happiness with his well-blessed wife, till due to some fault fate began to overtake him. He had a brother, Puṣkara, who was a knower of *Akṣa* or diceplay at least better than himself, though he was not any near perfection in other respects. Challenged by Puṣkara, Nala took to the play of dice and played and played on till he lost all his material possessions. But the charm and the maddening sense of defeat urged him on till he was utterly denuded of all his riches. Driven out of his own city, he with his faithful wife entered the forest. Hunger drove him to throw up his single cloth to catch two birds; they carried away that

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[1] *Akṣiṇī-Vidyā*: science of supernatural divination: *Yaj. Saṁhitā* IV. 6. 8: *cakṣur devānām ata martyānām*: cf. *Tiruvāymoli*: I. 8. 3 *Kannānenru*.—of. *Akṣyupaniṣad*: that deals with the Sun and Divine Eye and *Akṣamālikopaniṣad*.

cloth. Half the cloth of his wife he wrapped round himself and thus wrapped in one single cloth they two wandered. Overpowered with grief and unable to see the sorrow and pain that his beloved lady was going through, he tore his wife's cloth into two whilst she was asleep and abandoned her hoping that she would thus deserted somehow contrive to reach her parents. She thus deserted had to pass through terrible ordeals of a boa-constrictor, rape and elephant, which by the grace of fate she escaped unscathed. Finally she entered the service of a queen, who was as later it proved to be a relation of her own dear mother.

Nala in his turn wandering came across a serpent caught up in a centre of fire. He rescued the serpent from the fire (through the blessings of Agni), and was bitten by it afterwards which transformed him into a dwarf. This the serpent explained was not for destroying him nor even to repay kindness with misdeeds, but to help him. The poison would poison the poisoner, Kali and would never affect him. Next he asked him to go to Ṛtu-parṇa, the King of Ayodhyā, who would on one occasion teach him *Akṣa-hṛdaya* in exchange for his *Aśva-hṛdaya*. On that date he would be freed from the deformed appearance that had resulted to him, and that he would be restored to his own original radiant form. He gave him also a garment on wearing which Nala would regain his native form. Thus the serpent blessed him with knowledge of his future liberation, the teacher who would teach him the *Akṣa-hṛdaya* which would make him conquer the *Akṣa*-game.

Nala repaired to Ṛtu-parṇa as advised by his serpent-benefactor and stayed there as his horseman, charioteer and adviser for four years in *ajñāta-vāsa* : (XV. 20)

Bhīma, the father of Damayantī, meanwhile sent his emissaries about to discover the retreat of his

daughter and Nala. One such emissary discovered Damayantī and she was sent back by her Royal patron to her own place. Damayantī on reaching her home again sent emissaries about. One of them reported the behaviour of Nala who tried to extenuate the conduct of Nala in deserting his wife. This was the cue which finally decided her to send an urgent messenger to Ayodhyā-court to announce that the very next day there was to be a second *svayamvara* for Damayantī and that the King Ṛtu-parṇa may be pleased to attend it. Ṛtu-parṇa asked Nala to take him to Bhīma's court in Vidarbha so that he may be there in time. Nala agreed and selected the best horses, horses whose appearance to Ṛtu-parṇa belied their abilities. Ṛtu-parṇa accompanied by Vārṣṇeya (erstwhile charioteer of Nala himself) mounted the chariot which Nala drove with lightning speed. Ṛtu-parṇa admiring the admirable way of Nala's management of horses and his discrimination and efficiency, wished to show off his own greatness and therefore asked whether Nala would tell the number of leaves a tree that they left behind had. Nala could not as he did not know the science of Numbers. Ṛtu-parṇa told him the number of leaves and fruits. Nala despite the need for speed in going to Vidarbha, got down to count the number of leaves and found that Ṛtu-parṇa was right. Then Ṛtu-parṇa told him that he would teach him the *Akṣa-hṛdaya*, the science of Numbers and dice, which Nala knew is to be his saviour from Kali, evil-forces, in exchange for the *Aśva-hṛdaya*. Gladly accepting this offer Ṛtu-parṇa taught Nala the *Akṣa-hṛdaya* in exchange for the *Aśva-hṛdaya*. But though freed from the evil-force of Kali who was as it were vomitted out from him instantaneously, Nala continued to wear his dwarf-form.

They reached Vidarbha in time and from the roll and sound of the chariot Damayantī knew that Nala had come. But what she saw was a dwarf in every respect contrary

to the original form of her husband. Other exploits and activities shewed that indeed he was having all the *aṣṭa-siddhis* bestowed on him by the Gods. Then she prayed to him and he after learning that the so-called *svayam-vara* was to be the reunion alone which she sought and that it was a ruse alone condescending wore the magic cloak given to him by the Serpent. No sooner than he wore it, he regained his princely demeanour and stature. Ṛtu-parṇa learning of this was glad and stayed for the reunion and left the next day.

After a month Nala went back to his city to challenge his brother to the self-same game of dice and in one throw defeated him utterly. But he spared his life and gave him lands and sent him away to his place. Thus Nala regained his sovereign-status.

The above in bare outlines is the story.

The esoteric position is that Nala is the perfect human being who has achieved perfect mastery of the *Aśvas* or the senses,[2] a knower of them so thoroughly that even the gods were regaled by his beauty.[3] Damayantī was the gift of Damanaka the *ṛṣi* of controlled senses. Bhīma of supreme valour and power was her father. The perfect and self-controlled lady was thus wedded to a perfect knower of the Senses. Thus he was a yogin, an energetic vital soul self-controlled, mated to an equally self-controlled spouse of Yoga. On his wedding he received the presents from the gods of the *aṣṭa-siddhis*, the eight attainments:

Vṛte tu naiṣadhe bhaimyā lokapālā mahaujasaḥ/

Prahṛṣṭamanasaḥ sarve nalāyāṣṭau varān daduḥ. // (V. 34)

These *siddhis* or powers granted by Yama, Agni,

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[2] *Nala.* I. 1 *Upapanno guṇair iṣṭai rūpavān aśvakovidaḥ.* *cf.* *ṚV.* X. 44. 7; *Kaṭha. Up.* III. 9; *Śvet. Up.* II. 9.

[3] *Ibid.* V. 34 Damayantī chose him as against the gods

Indra and Vāyu were great and invaluable indeed. They made Nala full of prosperity. But as the Yoga-śāstra later pointed out these *siddhis* are nothing, avail nothing including the *aśva-śāstra*-knowledge, if one does not possess the freedom from prakṛtic illusion, the knowledge of Self (*Akṣa-hṛdaya*). For when Nala was overtaken by the love of the dice-game infuriated by defeat—(read the entire chapter on the progress of this game)—all his eight powers, occult and excellent, could not help him to victory. The immortal is not won by mere Yoga of skill in horses or in powers consequent on it, over water or fire or air or other elements. Only the Ey Divine, *divya-cakṣus*, granted through Grace of the Divine can help. This Eye-Divine, so far as it is confined to *this* narrative, takes the aspect of the mathematical power of enumeration in one single sweep the many in the One even when the Change is at its highest momentum. The Divine is the permanent in the Change, the One amongst the many, or rather the One that supports the many, and highest knowledge consists in perceiving this infinitude of diversity in the One Sweep of its Vision. This is the perfection of knowledge. Here we have expressed in the briefest compass the entire meaning of the Vision Omniscient that is to be the lot of all souls that are liberated. It is the power to know the number for in essence the height of knowledge is to know that all numbers, however vast, are finite to the intelligence, that is enumerable. Quantitative infinity is finite, wrote Rāmānuja : *Bhūyastvād-alpajñair-asankhyeyatve' pīśvarasya sarvajñasya sankhyayā eva.* (*Śrī Bhāṣya* II. i. 15). When the *Vēdanta Sūtras* following the Upaniṣads stated that the individual becomes verily like the *Brahman* except in respect of Cosmic functions and fundamental attributes of *ṣadguṇas*, the intimation means that the individual then will know the Saṅkhyā or quantitative infinity.

Akṣa in *Akṣa-hṛdaya* is the important word that suggests the *saṅkhyā*-knowledge. *Akṣa* means a measure, is dice itself, is an *indriya*, and in the dual neuter means as *akṣiṇī* the eyes specially. Philologically there are two roots which may form the bases for the derivation. *Akṣu: vyāptau* (*Mādhavīya-dhātu-vṛtti*) with '*in*' *pratyaya* forms *akṣin*: eye. The eye is so called because according to Indian psychology the eye (or rather the rays in the eye-organ) goes to the object and 'covers' it or pervades it. The Divine Knowledge is of the form of Vision that comprehends the three times and all spaces; *Akṣa-hṛdaya* will mean the perception of the Reality taken in all its manifoldness. It is in this sense that Ṛtu-parṇa (who had the wings of Truth, who was therefore a *suparṇa*) was able to perceive and enumerate the number of fruits and leaves in a tree whilst going at topspeed. Again when he says that it was that *Akṣa-hṛdaya* which also gives him mastery in dice, it is plausible to argue that he was fully capable of perceiving which is probable at every throw. It is skill in inference and mathematical working out of the exact probability due to the capacity to enumerate and decide and draw the conclusion with lightning rapidity that makes for mastery of Chance. The game of Chance rightly has been dubbed *akṣa*. To the ignorant it is a disastrous game, unholy, to the knower it is *akṣaya*[4] undecaying and unperishing causal knowledge. There is another root *as: vyāptau* which with *saran-pratyaya* forms *Akṣara*: the imperishable or more rightly the omnipervasive. This term denotes the Supreme Being, the *Jīva* as also *Prakṛti* as students of Vedānta will be aware. Men may be interested in the *Akṣa* only at the peril of

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[4] Cf. Kṛṣṇa was playing *Akṣa* with Rukmiṇī at the time of Draupadī's hour of peril and throws the dice with the words '*Akṣaya*.' This story is discounted by late Dr. V. S. Sukthankar.

material possessions; so is it with the *akṣara*. If one will not go to the desert in search of it the desert will indeed go on such a one. The love of Spirit (*akṣapriya*) is the quality of the Fate that moves men away from material possessions: it was the first quality enumerated of Nala, as it was of that saintly one Yudhiṣṭhira: mastery of senses both had, but only love for the *Akṣara* or *Akṣa*. It was Ṛtu-parṇa the king of the Unconquerable City, Ayodhyā, the one having the Wings of Truth, who was the master of the science of numbers and of the dice and *iṅgitajña*, Nala was the practical soul seeking verification of Ṛtu-parṇa's knowledge never one prepared to take another's word. His words read magnificently the scientific mind:

Parokṣamiva me rājan kathyase śatrukarṣaṇa/

Pratyakṣametat kartāsmi . . . .(XX. 12)

Having found that the enumeration made by Ṛtu-parṇa was correct he sought the knowledge of the Saṅkhyā. But Ṛtu-parṇa answered that because he knows the science of dice he knows the science of Numbers:

Viddhyakṣahṛdayajñam māṁ saṁkhyāne ca viśāradam/ (*ibid*. 26)

Nala having offered to teach him his science of *Aśva*, Ṛtu-parṇa taught him the *Akṣa-hṛdaya*—

Yathoktam tvam gṛhāṇedam akṣāṇām hṛdayam param/

Nikṣepo me' aśvahṛdayam tvayi tiṣṭhati bāhuka// (*ibid*. 29)

Thus both Ṛtu-parṇa the knower of *Akṣa* became also the knower of the *Aśva*, the knower of Thought and counting became also the yogin skilled in sense-driving, whilst Nala the profound master of the horse became

now open-looked with his knowledge eyes open to the Infinite. Nothing thereafter was beyond him. He had become a perfect being.

Akṣa-hṛdaya thus is Sāṅkhya, whereas *Aśvahṛdaya* is Yoga. Yoga is skill in action, in driving the senses, a practical man seeking actual verification, perception-dependent being. The *Akṣa* knower is one who knows the invisible, the imponderable, the manifestations and discriminates and enumerates accurately. Time or Kāla and Change cannot torture one who has achieved the *Kuṇḍalinīśakti*, but it is knowledge of Sāṅkhya and *Akṣa*-divine seeing in one sense that releases and liberates the soul (*nara-nala?*) from the bondage to Kali. Yoga may cause it distress when it is sanctified by Serpent Grace—*Kuṇḍalinī*—but it is Sāṅkhya that makes distress impossible.

Sāṅkhyayogau pṛthagbālāḥ pravadanti na paṇḍitāḥ|
Ekamapyāsthitaḥ samyagubhayorvindate phalam||
B.G. V. 4

Yatsāṅkhyaiḥ prāpyate sthānam tadyogairapi gamyate|
Ekam sāṅkhyam ca yogam ca yaḥ paśyati sa paśyati||
Ibid. V. 5.

The first point that is to be seen here is that Sāṅkhya and Yoga are identical in their results and that the results of both are identical. But the next verse points out that Renunciation is difficult to attain without Yoga (that is, control of the senses).

Sāṅkhya is, essentially, as earlier pointed out in the *Gītā*, the intelligent knowledge of things and will as they are in essential nature. The *Bhagavad-Gītā* 2nd chapter : verses 11—38 detail the essential *vidyā* of Sāṅkhya. Yoga must be only with this as basis. Thus says the Lord—

Eṣa te'bhihitā sāṅkhye buddhiryoge tvimām śṛṇu/
Buddhyā yukto yayā pārtha karmabandham prahāsyasi// ibid. 33

Nehābhikramanāśo'sti pratyavāyo na vidyate/
Svalpamapyasya dharmasya trāyate mahato bhayāt// Ibid. 40.

Yoga as then described denotes the complete subjugation of the senses.

Thus we find that the Sāṅkhya and Yoga relationship enunciated as necessary just as the *Akṣara* is necessary to the *Kṣara*, the *Kṣara* is necessary to the *Akṣara*; for work that has to be done, if not for oneself is at least for *lokasaṅgraha*. Nala and Ṛtuparṇa are the typifications of Yoga and Sānkhya and the story of Nala's exquisite horsemanship and Ṛtuparna's splendid ability of enumerating the number of leaves and fruits in a huge tree when he had but seen it as the chariot was racing at tremendous speed are the twin representatives of the powers of regenerate Soul discriminaticn and control in the terrific processes of Nature.

Ṛtuparṇa is the supreme Godhead in one sense as *Ṛtu*, *Ṛta*, is Season, is Law, is Truth, whilst *parṇa* means the Winged one, the Knower *Jña* as against the *Ajña* of the Upaniṣads.

The story of Nala, Damyantī and Ṛtuparṇa reveals the Mythic conception of the Yogic life being exalted and lifted up to perfection.

KAPILA ECLIPSE

By SHAMA SASTRY

Speaking of their skill in versification, the Vedic bards compare it to the deftness of a carpenter in the construction of a chariot and very often describe their songs as the chariots of the gods to ride on. One would therefore expect the poets to have taken no less care in making an array of coherent thoughts bearing on the topic in view than in the choice of words suitable to poetic cadence and metrical symmetry. But Sāyaṇa, the celebrated commentator, seems to regard almost all long hymns as made up of incoherent fragments having no link with each other. While his interpretation of words is scarcely questionable, his explanation of the drift of the verses making up a hymn brands them as thoughts expressed at random. There is, however, reason to believe that Sāyaṇa's explanation is far from the truth and that the various verses of all Vedic hymns, long or short, are coherent expressions bearing on connected topics. *ṚV*. I. 164 is an instance in point, as shown in my essay on "*Daniel's Dream in the Vedas*," published in the *Calcutta Review* for September, 1942. ṚV. X. 27, attributed to Saint Vasukra, is another instance: taking Kapila in verse 16 as the name of the founder of Sāṅkhya philosophy, Sāyaṇa explains verses 11, 12, 16 of the hymn as a tribute of praises sung in honour of that saint and teacher leaving the rest of the verses to be interpreted by the reader for himself in any way he likes. He took no notice or rather was not aware of incoherency and anachronism with which his interpretation of Kapila as the author of Sāṅkhya is vitiated. As a matter of fact the subject of the hymn is a total solar eclipse, called Kapila and the sacrifices performed to appease the 35

gods concerned in the 35 eclipses in the subcycle of 14 lunar years. The *Sūryasiddhānta* says that a total eclipse, solar or lunar, is called Kapila (*Kapilassakala-grahe*). In ṚV. 11, 12, 11 Indra is said to have found out Sambara, an eclipse-demon, hidden in mountains in the fortieth autumn, *i.e.*, in the autumn of the fortieth year. In other words, the finding was in the 3rd month of the fortieth year, since the Vedic year began with the month of Śrāvaṇa in summer. This period of 39 years and two months is exactly equal to two cycles of 19 lunar years with 14 intercalary months. In these two cycles of 19 solar years or 19 lunar years with 7 intercalary months each, Indra is said to have demolished 90 forts of Sambara in ṚV. I. 130, 7; 99 forts in II. 19, 6; in IV. 26, 3; 100 forts in II. 14, 6; in IV. 30, 2; VI. 31, 4. These forts are stated to have consisted of iron, silver, and golden castles corresponding to eclipses of grey, black, and reddish yellow colours (*Tait*. S. 6, 2, 3). One-third of 39 years is 13 years forming a subcycle of eclipses with one-third of 100 eclipses, *i.e.*, 34 to 35 eclipses. In the hymn under consideration the number of heroic gods (*Vīras*) that slew the eclipse demons is 35. The following is the translation with notes based upon the translations by Griffith and Wilson of the 24 verses of the hymn :—

"This, singer, is my firm determination to aid the worshipper who pours the Soma. I slay the man who brings no milk-oblation, unrighteous powerful, and truth's perverter. 1

If I encounter in combat the undevout, resplendent in their bodies, then will I cook a vigorous bull on *Amā* (the new-moon day); and will pour into the fire Soma-juice on the fifteenth, *i.e.*, the full-moon day. 2

Note:—Immolation of bulls on solar and Soma-pressing on lunar eclipses.

Who says that I do not know Indra to be the slayer of those who do not worship him? When the fierce war commences, then my powers themselves tell me the approaching time. 3

When I enter upon unprecedented combats, then all those who are affluent in oblations approach me so engaged: I destroy the mighty and overpowering foe for the protection of the world, and seizing him by the feet, throw him down from the mountain. 4

None resists me in combat, not even the mountains when I am resolved: at my shout the dullest of hearing is alarmed, and so too even the bright-rayed (sun) moves on day by day. 5

When I see the drinkers of the libations who serve not Indra and who cut the worshippers to pieces with their hands, my shafts quickly fall upon them, as well as on those who revile the friend of the worshippers. 6

Thou, Indra, art manifest (in heaven on *Uttarāyaṇa* day); thou waterest (the earth on *Dakṣiṇāyana* day); the one destroys the foe and also the other: these two (heaven and earth), ever-appearing, do not desert him who has pervaded the universe. 7

Cattle go together and feed upon the barley; I have beheld them grazing near their master; when called, they collect around their lord, who know how many of them he keeps with him? 8

We are grass-eaters before men; I am barley-eater inside the hall. When I am with them, one wishes to see me separated, and wants to unite us when separate from them (the cows). 9

Note:—Like cattle leaving their master and running away for feeding on barley, rays of light desert the sun or the moon in eclipse; at other times they graze near their master. Likewise, men also eat ordinary things before others; but while eating valuable things like

barley, they do so in closed rooms. Eclipse is compared to eating in closed room.

What is said by me about bipeds and quadrupeds, know that to be the truth. I shall take away the wealth of him in combat who wishes to fight and carry off women (like Sāvitrī in eclipse). 10

Whose daughter has been sometimes eyeless, which learned one will take her to be eyeless (for ever)? Which of the two: one that profects her and the other who wooes her—will leave him alive who tries to abduct her? 11

Note:—The sun or the moon is believed to be eyeless in eclipse. An eclipse-demon is believed to abduct them.

How many a woman has been gratified by the flattering praise of man's desire, when the bride is fortunate and beautiful, she of herself chooses her husband amongst men. 12

He (eclipse-demon) seizes him (sun or moon) with his feet; he swallows him from behind; he places his head against his head; seated on his car he sends (his shadow) upward to heaven; he sends the same down on the outspread earth. 13

The great (sun) shadowless and out of the grasp of the demon (*apalasa*) ever-moving abides. The embryo (of the world) liberated eats oblations; fondling the offspring of another mother she hath lowed. On what hath the milch cow laid her udder? 14

Note:—This refers to the belief that creative process goes on new moon and full moon days. The sun and the moon are spoken of as cows and bulls.

Seven heroes sprang from the lower portion; eight were born from the upper portion; nine occupants of stations came from behind; and ten generated in the front, partaking of food, traversed the summit of heaven. 15

(Seven eclipses in the autumnal season, eight in the spring season, nine in the rainy and ten in the winter season, 35 in all in course of 13 years.)

The sages took up one of the ten, Kapila, highly prized for completion of the sacrifice: the mother (in the disc of the sun or the moon) cherishes the future embryo. 16

The sages cooked a ram; the dice are thrown in the gambling hall; the two (the sun and the moon) passing through the filter and being purified move along the broad bow-like path. 17

(Dice-play is for the collection of grains and money from the defeated gambler for the completion of the sacrifice. The sun in solar and the moon in lunar eclipse are the defeated gamblers; Indra is the collector of the stakes, *i.e.*, rays of light;—see ṚV. X. 43, 5 where Indra is said to catch hold of the sun for the pledged wealth. The sun and moon pass through eclipse-fire and are thus purified; see IX. 83, 1 where heated things are said to pass through filter and become purified. The bow-like path is the visible portion of the ecliptic or orbit of the moon.)

They (the eclipse-gods) go in all directions shouting; half of them cook and the other half does not: this divine Sāvitrī has told me this, Agni whose food is wood and *Ghee* serves (gods). 18

(There is no cooking in lunar eclipses.).

I beheld the crowd coming from afar, moving outside or within the cycle; the lord of all (Indra) regulates the seasons, younger in vigour, destroying at once the herds of evil beings (eclipse-demons). 19

(The present group of eclipses is in the course of 13 years, but not in 19 years forming a complete cycle.)

These two bulls (sun and moon) belonging to me, the slayer of demons, are yoked; do not obstruct them, but praise them; atmosphere itself shall aid them to their

object; the sun attains his object: the demon Marka becomes a cloud. 20

(Prof. Ludwig thinks that there is some reference to solar eclipse here.)

This is the thunderbolt which often whirleth down from the lofty misty realm of Sūrya; beyond this realm there is another glory: so through old age they pass and feel no sorrow. 21

The bowstring fixed to each bow clangs loudly; then the man-destroying (shafts like) birds fall (upon the foes): and the whole of this world is alarmed, presenting libations to Indra and donations to the Ṛṣis. 22

(See ṚV. X. 31, 7 where *Dyāvāpṛthivī*, the upper and lower halves of the celestial sphere are spoken of as being formed of some wood, like bows.)

At the creation of the gods they (the demons) stood first; when they were hacked to pieces, there came cloud-like beings; three heat the earth; two (the sun and the moon) confront the cloud-like ones. 23

This is the life: and do thou mark and know it. As such, hide not thyself in time of battle. He manifests the light; but the cloud hides him; his passing through this purifying cloud is never abandoned. 24

In conclusion, it seems to be necessary to invite attention to the various ways in which the sun and the moon are looked upon in the Vedas. The sun is meditated upon as goddess Gāyatrī in the morning, Sāvitrī in the midday, and Sarasvatī in the evening. She is Indra's blind daughter during eclipse. It is Indra that slays the demon and sets the Sāvitrī free. The sun is also regarded as thighless (*Anūru*) and the moon as blind, *i.e.*, devoid of light. The Sāṅkhya conception of the union of lame *Puruṣa* and blind *Prakṛti* seems to have been based upon the union of the sun and the moon on the new-moon day for the renewal of the creative process of the universe.

A LETTER TO LORD CORNWALLIS

By S. N. Sen

Every age has its peculiar standard of propriety. Who expects the Governor-General in the midst of his multifarious pre-occupations to correspond with a complete stranger without any business public or private to-day? But things were different in the eighteenth century and the good lady from Surat who solicited such a courtesy from Lord Cornwallis did nothing unusual. The Emperor of Delhi would not condescend to take notice of anybody and everybody and the lucky recipient of an imperial *shuqqa* would rightly feel proud of so special a favour. Such an epistle would be treasured more or less as a hallmark of high social standing. When the empire declined and the Governor-General became the arbiter of its fate, aspirants to social distinctions naturally turned to him as the source of all honour. To be permitted to correspond with the Governor-General was a privilege for which the old nobility would vie with the new. Probably it also afforded in an indirect way some security against the rapacity of the less scrupulous servants of the state to which residents of distant stations were not infrequently exposed.

The correspondent of Lord Cornwallis was obviously a person of high status and noble origin. She styles herself as Mahārānī as well as *goswāminī*. In India a Muslim mendicant is ordinarily addressed as a *shah* or king and courtesy concedes a similar honour to a Hindu recluse. Our *goswāminī* was evidently a Mahārānī by courtesy and owed the title to her connection with some religious order. She refers the Governor-General to a letter from Lala Mayaram who may be reasonably identified with the Dewan

of Tegh Bukht Khan, Nawab of Surat.[1] The letter, in question, is in Persian and was dated the 2nd March, 1791. It gives a brief account of the Mahārānī's family and explains the objects of her correspondence with the Governor-General and may be quoted in full.

Lālā Mayaram to Lord Cornwallis (*Translation*).

"It is well known that the ancestors of Mahārānī Bahuji Maharaj always placed their reliance on God and they did not look up to anyone (for support) except Him and they were content with whatever they got from their disciples and followers and did not hanker after more. Their *Ṭhākuradwāra* was at Gokula, Muttra, where they received all sorts of favours and concessions from the reigning kings. But on account of their extreme piety and being engaged in the search for God they did not care for these things. When the affairs of the state fell into confusion and religious prejudice gained ground, they left that place and, at the request of their disciples and followers, who lived in these districts, they brought their *Ṭhākuradwāra* to the port of Surat. Here they passed their days in contentment on whatever they received from their disciples. As they are always offering prayers for the good of the people and the chiefs of the time, peace and order were established among men, through the power and rule of the English gentlemen. Religious prejudices disappeared. For this blessing they are always praying for the increase of the power and prestige of the English. May God enhance their splendour and dignity and may He give them grace to administer justice to the people! As there was a regular correspondence between the Chief of Surat and the aforesaid Bahuji, the affairs of the *Ṭhākuradwāra* re-

[1] *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, VII, No. 276.

ceived full attention, and through the good offices of that gentleman, all the officers of the government gave help and showed kindness. That gentleman having left for England, correspondence with him ceased. But fortunately his lordship is the Governor-General who looks after the interests of everybody and the fame of his greatness has spread all over and the said Bahuji has heard from all visitors to these parts about the excellent qualities of his lordship. She is, therefore, more than ever engaged in offering prayers for the increase of his honour and glory. She is now desirous of opening a correspondence with him and she is sending a letter to him through a pair of *qasids* along with this letter. I request that you will kindly send a reply to it and inform us of your health and welfare from time to time. May the Sun of your fortune always shine bright!" (*OR* 58; 2nd March 1791).

Obviously Bahuji Maharaj was the head of the Mahārāja sect[2] at Surat, for it was by this title that the Consort[3] of the pontiff of that order was generally known. It is no wonder that she should call herself Goswāminī Mahārājñī, as Viṭṭhalanātha, son of Vallabhācārya, the founder of the sect, was popularly known as Śrī Gosāijī, the Sanskrit equivalent of which in the feminine gender is Śrī Goswāminī. Viṭṭhalanātha's sons and pontifical successors later added the honorific title of Mahārāja[4] to their names in accordance with the traditions of the country and our Bahuji conformed to the usual practice when she styled herself as Śrī Mahārājñī. The legend on the seal may not be unworthy of some scrutiny. Śrī Bālakṛṣṇajī, third son

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2 On the Mahārāja sect see *History of the Sect of the Maharajas;* Wilson, *Works*, Vol. I—Grouse, *Mathura* and Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion*.

3 *History of the Sect of the Maharajas*, p. 106

4 *Ibid.*, p. 44.

of Viṭṭhalanātha, was the head of one branch of his grandfather's sect and a temple known by his name (also called Gosavi Mahārāja's temple) was built at Surat about 1695.[5] It is not, therefore, unreasonable to infer that Bahuji Mahārāja derived her pontifical status from Bālakṛṣṇa and belonged to his branch of the sect. Probably she was associated with the Bālakṛṣṇajī temple of Surat. The Vallabhācārya sect had originally its seat at Gokula[6] near Muttra and, as Mayaram hints, transferred its headquarters to Surat when "religious prejudice gained ground" during the reign of Aurangzeb Alamgir. One branch of the sect migrated with the image they worshipped to Nāthadwāra in Udaipur[7] and the priests of Bālakṛṣṇajī's order probably removed their establishment earlier to safer regions on the banks of the Tapti. In 1872 roughly one-ninth of the Vaiṣṇavas, one twenty-seventh of the entire Hindu population of Surat were of Bālakṛṣṇa's persuasion.[8] Bahuji Mahārāja, as the shepherdess of so considerable a flock, was a personage of sufficient importance and one who was entitled to divine honour from her disciples might reasonably expect some recognition of her temporal position from the secular authorities. Why a personage claiming quasi-divine status should go out of her way to cultivate the goodwill of a mere mortal is a different question.

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[5] *Surat District Gazetteer*.
[6] Grouse—*op. cit.*, pp. 288 ff. and 352.
[7] *Ibid*, p. 36.
[8] *Bombay District Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pp. 535-6.

श्रीहरिः

श्रीजगदीशो जयति

स्वस्ति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजश्रीमंतगोस्वामि–/

नी श्रीमहाराज्ञीनां प्रौढ़ोदग्रप्रतापतपना–/ तपतापितारिदारवदनेषु गवरनर-लार्डकं–/ नवालीशबाहादुरेषु शुभाशिषः समुल्लसं–/ तु वृत्तांतं [*sic*] च श्रीमद्यशः कुसुमवाटिकालो–/ चनमुदितजगदीशकृतवहलप्रसन्नता–/ वर्षणभृतमकरंदनिभृता-स्मान्मानसमति–/ प्रसन्नमभवद्यतो दूरे वर्त्तमाना अपि गुणिनो–/ निकटस्थिता इव सकलचेतसि परमानंदं ज–/ नयंति किंच लौकिकप्रेमवद्भिरपि परस्परं पत्रिका–/ लेखः क्रीयते [*sic*] सुरत्नणपोपितनिखिलजनधर्म–/ तरुभिर्भवद्भिर्निखिललोकशुभ-समुत्सुकास्मा–/ स्वलौकिकसौहार्दवत्सु च कती [*sic*] स्वमुद्रांकितानि/ परंपरात आगतवंति पत्राणि न सामीर्यंत [*sic*][9] इत्याश्च–/ र्यं भवति यतः सुमनसः [*sic*] स्वमूले वर्त्तमानं सौरभं वहुली–/ कुर्वंति तस्मादिदानिं स्वकोशल्यसूचकवर्ण–/ मंडितयथापरांपरापत्रप्रेषणेनास्मन्मनसि सदा संतोषो विधेय इतो विशेषः लाला-मयारामपत्राद्‌ज्ञेय इत्यलम् ।

।। गवरनरलार्ड कांनवालीशवाहादुरकरकि–/ लितम [*sic*] स्त्विदं पत्रम्

Seal. श्रीबालकृष्णो / जयति श्रीमहा / राणी वहुजीका[10]/ या इयं मुद्रा [स्ति]

(*OR* 56, 2nd March 1791)

TRANSLATION

PROSPEROUS HARI.

The Prosperous Lord of the world is victorious.

Be it well. May the good wishes of the illustrious Mahārājādhirāja Śrīmanta Gosvāminī Śrī Mahārājñī shed lustre on the great Governor Lord Cornwallis, the sunlike splendour of whose terrible and firmly consolidated power is scorching the faces of his enemy's wives. Be it known that our heart, refreshed as it is by viewing your glory

[9] Obviously a slip for 'सामीर्यंत'

[10] Formed by adding 'कन्' to the honorific 'बहुजी'.

which is a veritable flower garden, and nourished as it is by the honey emitting from the many blessings showered (on you) by God, has become full with joy. For, the illustrious, even when they live at a distance, cause happiness to all hearts as they would have done had they been close by. However, even those who are allied in a temporal way are accustomed to correspond with each other. It is strange, therefore, that although we are solicitous for the well-being of the whole world and are bound (to you) by a spiritual tie of friendship, you who are a veritable tree of justice, which by its able protection sustains the whole mankind, do not now even care to address (lit. do not even half-address) any of those letters which, with your own seal impressed on them, used regularly to flow (to us). Just as the flower sends out the sweetness contained within its core, do you also ever gladden our heart by regularly sending us letters decorated with scripts expressing your welfare. Further particulars may kindly be learnt from Lālā Mayārāma's letter. What more?

May this letter sport[11] with the hand of His Excellency Lord Cornwallis the Governor.

Seal :—Śrī Bālakṛṣṇa is victorious.
This is the seal of
Mahārānī Bahujīkā *

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[11] Lit. "be made to sport by the hands of etc." Evidently, 'किलितम' in the original is a slip for the causal form 'केलितम्' ।

* I am much indebted to Mr. N. N. Chaudhuri, M.A., Kāvyavyākaraṇatīrtha, Senior Professor of Sanskrit, Ramjash College, Delhi, for the kind help I received from him in translating the letter.

SANSKRIT COLLEGE, BENARES

By S. N. Sen

Most Indians in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries used courtly Persian in their official correspon dence, a few preferred their mother-tongue and a microscopic minority, learned Brahmans as a rule, had recourse to classical Sanskrit. So far only one instance of a bilingual letter addressed to the Governor-General of the day in which the Persian text is prefaced by two laudatory Sanskrit verses in a sonorous and difficult metre (*Śragdharā*) has come to our notice. The writer, Kāśīnātha Paṇḍita, was the first Rector[1] or the head preceptor, as he is variously styled in contemporary records, of the Sanskrit College or Pāṭhaśālā founded by Jonathan Duncan at Benares and held that office for nearly a decade. We know very little or nothing about him except that under his administration the Pāṭhaśālā belied the high hopes of the well-meaning founders and became an object of common ridicule. Kāśīnātha's scholarship has not been called into question by any of his critics. He was in all probability a native of Bengal, as one of the[2] eight foundation professors of the Pāṭhaśālā, Śyāmānanda Bhaṭṭācārjī is described as "son of Cashinath". Among the pilgrims and paṇḍitas who in 1787 bore testimony to the character and

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[1] Pol. Cons. 16 April 1801 No. 110 and George Nicholl's *History of the Benares College*, p. 4.

[2] In Nicholl's work the other names are given as "Bireshur Sheth, (Bireshwar Shesh?) Professor of the large Vyakarana of Panini and the Bhasya of the Rigveda," "Ramchandra Tara Professor of the Veda and Vedanta," "Soolepa (Sooba?) Shastri Professor of the Mimamsa," "Gossain Anandgir, Professor of the Purans and Cabe (Kavya) Shastra," "Luchmipat Joshi, Professor of the Jotish Shastra," "Gangaram Bhat, Professor of the Vaya (Ayurveda) Shastra," and "Ramprashad Tarka Panchanan, Professor of Nyayasastra."

good Government of Warren Hastings we come across two Kāśīnāthas who subscribe themselves as Maithila and Śarmā respectively.[3] Of these, Kāśīnātha Śarmā is probably our man. It is extremely unlikely that a person of his ambition and enterprise would keep aloof from a movement set in foot to vindicate the character and administration of an ex-Governor-General[4] and a Maithila's son does not usually call himself a Bhaṭṭācārjī. "Sero Shastri Guru Tarkalankar Cashinath Pandit Juder Bedea Behadur" is probably the nineteenth century English corruption of the Persian equivalent of Śrī Śāstrī Guru Paṇḍita Kāśīnātha Tarkālaṅkāra Yajurvedī.

Whether the idea of founding a government school for Sanskrit studies at Benares on the analogy of the Madrasa at Calcutta really originated with Kāśīnātha we do not know. But in the absence of any evidence to the contrary we need not summarily dismiss his claim as absolutely unfounded. Charles Wilkins probably experienced some difficulty in securing the services of a competent Brāhmana scholar, for in those days orthodox Brāhmaṇas would not ordinarily agree to interpret their sacred rites and doctrines to a Christian student. Even a personage of Sir William Jones's rank met with rebuff from certain Paṇḍitas

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[3] *Two Sanskrit Memoranda of* 1787 (published in the *Journal of Ganganatha Jha Research Institute* Nov. 1943).

[4] As a matter of fact in the Sanskrit letter of congratulation addressed to Hastings by the Benares Pandits on 'the 7th of the light fortnight of the moon of Phalgoona in the year 1852 of the Samvat' (15 March 1796) his name appears at the head of the other signatories. The original letter is not traceable among the archives of the Government of India but a translation of it will be found in the *Debates of the House of Lords* (1797), pp. 755—768. Here his name is followed by the designation "Professor of General Knowledge" as well as his seal, wherein he is described as 'Ornament of Logic and among Pandītas called the Chief of Science' (*vide* 'The Testimonials of good conduct to Warren Hastings by the Benares Pundits' by P. K. Gode, M.A., in *Journal of the Tanjore S. M. Library*, Vol. II No. 1).

of the more cosmopolitan and less exclusive city of Calcutta. Our records are silent about Wilkins's suggestion to Warren Hastings, Kāśīnātha's contemplated journey to Calcutta and his conversation with Jonathan Duncan. All that we definitely know is that Duncan suggested to Lord Cornwallis in a letter dated 1st January, 1792, that a part of "the surplus Revenue expected to be derived from the permanent settlement" "could not be applied to more general advantage or with more local propriety than by the Institution of a Hindoo College or Academy for the preservation and cultivation of the Laws, Literature and Religion of that nation, at this centre of their faith, and the common resort of all their tribes."[5] Duncan believed that two very desirable objects will be simultaneously attained by the foundation of such an Academy. The services of the professors and students might be utilised for the collection and transcription of rare Sanskrit treatises on religion, laws, sciences and arts and a valuable manuscript library might thus be "accumulated at only a small expense to Government."[6] The British Government would thus gain great credit and popularity with the Hindus in general by outdoing their own princes in their zeal for the preservation and propagation of Hindu learning, and the college in due course would be "a nursery of future doctors and expounders of Hindoo Law, to assist the European Judges in the due, regular, and uniform administration of its genuine letter and spirit to the body of the people." Such advantages could be secured according to Duncan's estimate at the comparatively moderate cost of Rupees 14,000 per annum. The Governor-General readily approved of the scheme and authorised the Resident to increase the establishment to Sicca Rupess 20,000 per annum "from the commencement of the Fussly year 1200",

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[5] *Selections from Educational Records*, Part I, p. 10.
[6] *Ibid*, p. 11.

"provided upon the arrival of that period you shall be of opinion (of which you will advise us) that the surplus collections will be adequate to the payment of the amount."[7] So in due course the Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā was started with eight professors and Kāśīnātha as Head preceptor. If he had really exerted himself heart and soul for ten years with a view to establishing a Sanskrit Academy, his labours found ample reward in the monthly emoluments of Rupees 200 besides the prestige and patronage associated with the preceptor's office.

The Governor-General-in-Council was the official visitor of the newly-founded institution, but the Resident, as his Deputy, was the person really responsible for the success of the scheme. Duncan took every care not to offend the religious susceptibilities of the Brahmins on whose co-operation the future of the Pāṭhaśālā largely depended. One of the rules framed by him definitely laid down that "the Professor of Medicine must be a Vaidya, and so may the teacher of Grammar; but as he could not teach Panini, it would be better that all except the physician, should be Brahmans." The next rule provided that the Brahman teachers were to have preference over "strangers" in succeeding to the headship, and it was also decided that the discipline of the college should conform in every respect to the edicts of Manu and the examination of students in "the more secret branches of learning were to be conducted periodically by a committee of Brahmans" and the Professors were not expected to impart lessons in sacerdotal subjects in the presence of non-Brahmans.[8] Hindu sentiments were, therefore, fully taken into account and all possible concessions were made to Brahman prejudices in recruiting professors and in framing regulations. There is reason to suspect that even

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12 and Nicholls, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

the professorship of medicine went to a member of the priestly caste.[9]

The College records are wanting for the first seven years, and it is not clear when exactly its affairs took an unhappy turn. Duncan left Benares in 1795 and in 1798 the supervision of the college was vested in a Committee consisting of G. F. Cherry, Samuel Davis and Captain Wilford.[10] Cherry was a Persian scholar of some repute and met with a tragic end at Benares in January 1799. Davis had interested himself in the study of Hindu astronomy and Wilford, a devoted student of Sanskrit, was appointed the Secretary of the Committee. He was originally appointed to survey the boundaries between the British districts and the Nawab Vizir's territories, but the Oudh officers offered all sorts of obstacles to him and his work had to be suspended.[11] Meanwhile he had made good use of his enforced rest, and Jonathan Duncan suggested to Sir John Shore that Wilford should be permitted to continue at Benares and complete his researches. In a minute dated 13th June, 1794, Sir John Shore recommended that "Wilford be allowed to remain in Benares in his present situation with an additional allowance of Rs. 600 p.m., as a recompense for the expense and labour of procuring materials for and prosecuting in the above city or elsewhere an enquiry into the knowledge of the Hindoos in Geography as well as other branches of science and also

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9 Gangaram Bhatt who was appointed to the post seems to be identical with the Pandit who signed as 'Gangaram Sharma' on the Sanskrit address referred to in note 4. His name appears as 'Bhutt Gangaram' in the list of signatories to the Sanskrit Memorandum addressed by the 'Maharashtra and Nagara,' Brahmins of Benares on 16 Nov. 1787 (*Journal of G. N. Jha Research Institute Nov.* 1943).

10 *Nicholl's op. cit.*, p. 5.

11 Wilford to Duncan dated 10 May 1794. Pub. Cons. 1794 13 June No. 8 and Duncan to Shore 4th June 1794. Pub. Cons. 1794, 13 June No 7.

into their ancient History."[12] The personnel of the Committee was, therefore, judiciously selected and its enquiries revealed a sad state of things.

On the 13th March, 1801, the Committee (meanwhile Cherry and Davis had been replaced by Neave and Deane) reported that "of 202 scholars mentioned in the Bill of Kashinaut, the Head Preceptor, only fifty or thereabout attended regularly, that 50 or 70 more attended once or twice a month and the remainder had hardly been heard of even by name. It further appeared that for these 5 or 6 years there had only been eleven instead of twelve Pundits in the College and that the Head Preceptor Kashinaut had entered the name of a fictitious Pundit in order to receive his allowance."[13] Kāśīnātha was further guilty of contumacy and refused to prepare the pay-roll in accordance with the instructions of the Committee. He was thereupon dismissed[14] and ordered to make over the property of the Pāṭhaśālā to Jaṭā Śaṅkara Paṇḍita. Kāśīnātha's defence is offered in the bilingual letter addressed to Lord Mornington.

That Kāśīnātha had been guilty of serious malversation admits of no doubt. But in fairness to him it should be pointed out that he had for his colleagues persons far from competent or responsible. Soon after Lord Mornington's arrival in India (the letter was received on the 3rd August, 1798), Kāśīnātha complained to the Governor-General that "During the last four months five of the twelve

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[12] Pub. Cons. 18 June 1794 No. 9.

[13] Pol. Cons. 1801, 16 April No. 110.

[14] This occurred in April 1801 (Pol. Progs, 16 April 1801). For Jata Shankar's appointment see Pol. Cons. 3rd June 1801 no 34. He may reasonably be identified with "Deeksheeta Jata Sankara, Professor of the Rik Veda", who was also a signatory to the Sanskrit address referred to in note 4. He was replaced by Pandit Ramananda sometime after July 1805. (Nicholls, *op. cit.* pp. 12 and 14.)

Pundits attached to this Madrasa having entered into collusion have been in the practice of going daily to the Omlah of several of the Gentlemen here, in consequence of which the duties of the Madrasa are impeded. They disregard my remonstrances on the subject. I have already mentioned this circumstance to the Gentlemen of the Court of Appeal as well as to the Judge of this District who intimated to me in reply that they could not act in the instance without order from Government. I have therefore to request that your Lordship will authorise either the Gentlemen of the Court of Appeal or the Judge of this District to investigate the circumstance and to do whatever may appear to them to be proper."[15] It appears that the professors were permitted to hold their classes at their respective residences and though in complete conformity with the old traditions of the country this practice was hardly conducive to strict discipline. Obviously such discipline as was originally observed quickly deteriorated after Mr. Duncan's departure.

Of the foundation-professors Rāma Prasāda Tarkālaṅkāra[16] (also styled as Tarka-Pañcānana) enjoyed the reputation of a learned and conscientious scholar, but he was an octogenarian at the time of his appointment. Vīreśwara Paṇḍita, Sūbā Śāstrī[17] and Jaṭā Śaṅkara wanted that their pupils' stipends should be paid to them, a claim which the Committee was unable to uphold. According to Mr. Brooke (who officiated as President of the Committee in 1804) Jaṭā Śaṅkara's reputation for learning and his general respectability did not justify his appointment to

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[15] Secret Cons. 4th January 1799 No. 8.

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 4 and 7. He was the Professor of Nyayasastra. He retired in April 1813 at the age of 103 and was granted a pension of Rs. 50/- per month.

[17] Professor of Mimamsa. He was dismissed in 1799 (Nicholls *op. cit.*, p. 14).

the Rector's office.[18] In 1813 the new Rector[19] complained against Vīreśwara Paṇḍita, Śivanātha Paṇḍita[20] and Jayarāma Bhaṭṭa[21] for dereliction of duty. Kāśīnātha's unfavourable reference to Śivanātha Paṇḍita's activities may not, therefore, have been altogether unmerited. In any case the position of the leader of such a team was far from enviable, and Kāśīnātha's failure to run the college on proper lines might not have been due to his own delinquency alone though his stewardship of the college funds was by no means creditable. He has been accused of substantially reducing the original salaries of the Professors, but with the limited funds at his disposal he could not possibly raise the number of professors from eight to twelve without a cut in their pay.

At least one statement of Kāśīnātha has been fully corroborated by the Committee. He complained that the monthly grant of the college had been withheld by Captain Wilford since September 1799. The Committee in its letter to the Chief Secretary to the Government admits that the establishment of the college has been many months in arrears and as on the 30th May, 1801, a bill was presented for the allowance of the entire year of 1800.[22] Kāśīnātha's charges do not appear to be unduly exaggerated. It does not redound to the credit of the Committee that it should permit the professors' pay to fall in arrears for more than twelve months since its appointment in 1793.

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18 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

19 *I.e.* Pandit Ramananda. He was a native of Jaipur.

20 Professor of Religious duties. (Nicholls *op. cit.*, p. 7). Probably the same as Sivanath Tarkabhusan of the Sanskrit Memorandum drawn up by the 'Bengali' Pandits of Benares in 1787 (*Journal of Ganganatha Jha Research Institute Nov.* 1943).

21 Professor of Yajurveda (Nicholls *op. cit.*, p. 7). His name also appears among the signatories to the Sanskrit Address of 1796 (*vide* Note 4) as well as the Sanskrit Memorandum of 1787 (*vide* Note 9).

22 Pol. Cons. 16 April 1801 No. 110 and Nicholls, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

Kāśīnātha's removal from the Rector's office did not improve the administration or the general reputation of the college. His temporary successor Jaṭā Śaṅkara was a man of indifferent ability. The Committee's supervision was neither efficient nor effective and the early history of the Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā does more credit to Jonathan Duncan's heart than to his discrimination.

Kāśīnātha's Letter to Lord Mornington [23]

वाहुच्छायां प्रजास्ते सततमधिगताः शेरते वीतशंका आतंकाढ्या / भ्रमंतो दिशि दिशि रिपवो नैव निद्रां लभंते न्यायेनोर्व्यां चतुष्पा / च्चिरविहतपदः स्थापितो भूद्वृपस्ते किंत्रू मः पुण्यकीर्त्तीनतिभ वसि / नृपाल्लाटमार्न्टीनभूप १ सिंधोः पारं प्रयाता निपतिते-/ प्रृतनास्त्यत्क [क्त ?]-वंतो ममत्वं राष्ट्रे दुर्गे कोशे रणभुवि भवता वत्स लत्वेन मुक्ताः प्रातः प्राच्यामुदीक्ष्य प्रतिदिन मरयो मंडलं चं-/ डरश्मेस्त्वद्भोल-भ्रांतिभाजो दधति विकलतां लाटमान्टी (न ?) भूप २

(In Persian)

Sir,

I beg to state that Mr. Wilford, in order to take possession of the *patshala* withheld its *mushahara* from the beginning of September 1799 and thought that the students not getting their *mushahara* would absent themselves (from attending the classes). Hearing this I tried my best to run the institution and to maintain the attendance as usual. One year after Shiv Nath Pandit instigated the

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[23] *English translation of the introductory verses*:

"Your subjects ever secure under the shade of your arms sleep without fear; your enemies who wander in terror in all directions find no sleep at all. You have restored with justice on earth the long dislocated fourfooted bull (of Dharma). What more should I say! You surpass all monarchs of sacred memory, Oh Lord Mornington.

Your enemies who, spared in the battlefield by your clemency, have with routed troops fled across the seas, resigning their interest in the states, strongholds and treasures, still get bewildered daily in the morning when they see the orb of the burning rays (*i.e.*, the sun) in the east confounding it with your own orb, Oh Lord Mornington."

Pandits of my *patshala* and one day in my absence he showed Mr. Hawkins 68 students as absentees. Having learnt this my students in a body presented an *arzi* before Mr. Hawkins[24] and Mr. Wilford saying that in fact they were present but they have been shown as absentees by the Pandits simply to turn them (the students) against me and to bring them under control, but their representations went unheeded. This fact is a well-known affair in Benares. I have already represented this fact to you for your consideration. Now on 28 April, 1801, I received a *parwana* informing me that under instructions from you my *patshala* has been closed and directing me to make over the books, furniture, etc., of the *patshala* to Jaya (Jata) Shankar Pandit. I accordingly made over the articles to the aforesaid Pandit. If it is your wish to hand over the control of the *patshala* to Mr. Wilford, I have nothing to say in the matter. I beg further to say that Mr. Charles Wilkins came to Benares in order to study the *Shastras*. He sent for many learned Pandits and requested them to teach him the subject. Some of them did not agree to take up the work while others failed to do it efficiently. Mr. Wilkins then summoned me for the purpose. By the grace of God I taught him the subject within a short time. With a view to disseminating the knowledge of the *Shastras* I spoke to Mr. Wilkins that since a Madrasa for teaching Persian was set up in Calcutta, it was but proper that a *patshala* for teaching of the *Shastras* was established in Benares which is a holy place of the Hindus. Mr. Wilkins represented this matter to Mr. Warren Hastings who approved of the idea and desired me to see him at Calcutta. I thereupon made arrangements for my departure, but for want of a proper boat for the journey a little delay occurred with the result

[24] F. Hawkins, Judge of Benares from 1800.

that Mr. Hastings sailed for England and the matter was held in abeyance. For a period of 10 years I had been busy heart and soul in trying to establish a *patshala* for imparting education in the *Shastras*. On Mr. Jonathan Duncan's arrival at Benares I spoke to him also in the matter. He (Mr. Jonathan Duncan) represented the matter to you and with your approval set up a *patshala* and put me in authority and control of it and issued orders to the treasury of Benares to make regular payments for its expenses. I (in pursuance of the order) had been getting the *mushahara* monthly and distributing it to those who were connected with the work of the *Shastras* here (at Benares). The honour that I am now enjoying had been bestowed on me by you and I hope that you will also maintain it in future. (*OR*).

SIDDHA ŚĀSTRAS: A RECONCILIATORY STUDY

By K. R. R. Sastry

The make-secret policy has spoiled many works which have not been made available to Pandits and savants.[1]

Siddhas mean "dwarfs." These Siddhas have attained a golden hue through their "*Tapasyā*."[2] Born naturally like us, after attaining a higher evolution these Siddhas had grown small in stature.

Among the *Siddhas* one group is called "Navanādha Siddhas;" according to another version there are sixty-four. Eighteen Siddhas are found mentioned foremost. Sundaranandar states in his *Śuddha Gñānam*[3] that a Siddha is one who has known this great path through experience and initiation after digesting:

(*a*) Konkana's Ashtāngam.
(*b*) Subramaniar's Gñānam.
(*c*) ,, Kadāikkāndam.
(*d*) Kumbamuni—Dīksha.
(*e*) Thīrumūlar—Five Hundred.
(*f*) Matsyamuni—Gnānam.
(*g*) Kumbhamuni—Pujai.
(*h*) ,, Gnanam. 100.

Nandīśwara, Agasthya, Matsya, Pidunakkiśar, Dhanvantari, Karuvurar, Pulastya, Buchunda, Thīru-mūlar Sattamuni, Romarṣi, Bogar, Brahmamuni, Sundarar, Ramadevar, Therayar, Kapilar and Kamala-muni—these constitute the eighteen *Siddhas*. Some others include Idaīkkādar and Pāmbātti Siddhar among

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[1] Pandit Anantakrishna Sastry in his commentary on "*Soundarya-Laharī*."

[2] Thirvalluvar—*Pancharatnam*: 47.

[3] Stanzas, 47, 48.

them. Śrī Kṛṣṇa in the *Bhagawadgītā* says[4] that he is "सिद्धानाम् कपिलो मुनिः ।"

All their writings in Tamil which had been preserved in palm-leaves and worshipped in many Saivite families in South India have since last fifty years been mostly printed from Madura and Madras. Most of these Siddhas convey their understanding of Sanskrit (*e.g.*, Nandīswara, Dhanvantari).

These *Siddha Sāstras* are written in *Paribhāṣā*—veiled language. It is one of the tenets of Siddhas that what they write should bear more than one meaning at a time. There is thus, as it were, an impenetrable barrier to clear understanding. Most of these verses stand an interpretation in the yogic and medicinal planes; sometimes after entrancingly describing the inward experience of the Siddha in different planes, there is a sudden drop in the next stanza to describe the elements of the *Kalpasiddhi* for the body.

Thiruvalluvar, the great sage and author of the Tamil Veda, Kural, has sung in his *Pañcaratnam*[5] that owing to the defect of not stating it clearly many millions have been misled. The number of students who have studied these Sastras and followed doubtful and dubious ways is very high indeed.

Many votaries at this path have been misled into becoming experts in medicine, witchcraft or some other black art. Some others taking an erroneous clue from *Aṇḍa* and *Piṇḍa* (which is a very common reference in Hindu philosophy for referring to ब्रह्माण्ड and पिण्ड) have wasted their lives in unearthing the graves of children.

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[4] V. 26. Ch. X.

Vide also the description of सिद्धाश्रम in *Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa*, I. 29, verse 3. "सिद्धाश्रमइतिख्यातः सिद्धो ह्यत्र महातपाः ।"

[5] Verse 6.

Diabolical have been their deeds and manifestly criminal their acts. Some others like the present author's father had spent their whole lives in purifying substances like lead, mercury, and sulphur.

Vaidya Muppu

While at this stage, one can examine the striking similarity between Indian, Alexandrine and Chinese works of Alchemy. Words like *Kāya-kalpa, Brahma Garbha, Ākāśa Gangai, Śuddham Viṣṇupādam Tīrtham* recur in many Siddha's poems. It is stated all through that the many difficulties and crises that the body will be subjected to when *Kuṇḍalinī* is roused to dwell in *Suṣumnā* in its ascent to and descent from *Sahasrāra* can be borne only when the body takes in this elixir called. *Muppu* (lit compound of three elements). When this *Kalpa* is taken in, the body gets a golden hue. Many avaricious votaries in alchemy had lost all their riches and died disappointed and disillusioned. Sage Thiruvalluva has sung in *Pañcaratnam*[6] that this Kalpa is child's play to the righteous and disciplined sage.

One reads in a Chinese work "*Tsan-Tung-Shi*" that the aspirant must have been an adept in "*Taoism.*" Further details stated are that this precipe can be got only in lonely hills, that this Path should not be divulged to more than three, that the body must be perfectly poised and pure,—and that the aspirant should fast for hundred days prior to achievement. It is further stated in symbolic language that "white tiger," "blue serpent," and "flying pearl" ("Red Bird") should be heated in the furnace called "*Ting*" when it becomes converted into the recipe.

Likewise, reference to these three identical elements runs through the *Siddha Śāstras*. Is it the

[6] Verse 316.

time-worn reference to the Sun element (mainspring of all vitality), the earth element (hidden heat) and the third unexpressed Ākāśa element (*Mauna-Akṣaraṁ*) familiar to us in the *yogic* plane? Or is this recipe which is a synthesis of *two* transformed by the *third* into One,—the eternal theme in our religion and philosophy—suggested to us in our own geography by the Ganges, the Jumna and the *Antarvāhinī* Saraswatī?[7]

In the Alexandrine system also the aspirant should be loyal and disciplined, this great secret should not be divulged to any; the importance of mercury, lead and gold is emphasised; the initiated should talk and write in symbolic language; the interaction of Sun, Moon, and the other seven planets on metals—all these are found considerably emphasised. May it not be suggested that the details of alchemy in India were carried to Egypt, Greece, and Rome by Siddhas as Bhogar and Romarṣi (two Siddhas whose names connect them with Greece and Rome)?

Siddha Mārga

Endless have been the modes of describing the path of Siddhas. One sure clue to reconcile the songs of Siddhas is by remembering that the Siddhas were describing the arduous ordeal of regulating breath and rousing *Kuṇḍalinī*.

The parallel reference running all through is to some pointed achievement of the *Sādhana* of Yoga Muppu. Every genuine student of Yoga (whatever kind it be of the Seven Yogas) would experience great hardship as he advances from one stage to another through the essential six *psychic centres* till he reaches the Seventh

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[7] Bhagwan Srī Ramakrishna Paramahaṁsa yearns in his prayer for the submerging of his self into the *Paramātman* as the great fusion of the Ganges and the *Yamunā* into *One*.

Heaven (*Sahasrāra*). Just as no individual can pass through all these stages safely unless he had been initiated into the art by a practical yogin; likewise, the *Kalpam* that is necessary to regulate the human system through the stages of concentration can be known only through a *guru*.

A *guru* who is most merciful and worthy of veneration blesses the pupil only when he gets ripe for it through leading a righteous, peaceful and disciplined life. *Cf.*

यदा तु मेलनं योगी लभते गुरुवक्त्रतः ।
तदा त्वत्सिद्धिमाप्नोति यदुक्ता शास्त्रसन्ततौ ॥[8]

Siddha's sympathy

Many Siddhas have sung in verses their abundant sympathy to the thousands who miss the aim of human existence. A progressive plan has been adumbrated throughout the *Siddha Śāstras* for the great quest of man after God-head. The striking points of similarity between the *Mantra* and *Siddha Śāstras* lie in the mastery of the technique (theory) and the initiation into the art (practice) by a competent *Guru*.

Just as the followers of *Vāma-Mārga* have deteriorated the great *Mantra Śāstras*, so have the seekers after filthy lucre brought discredit to the exalted *Siddha-Mārga*. The students of *Mantra-Yoga* will get valuable guidance from Lakṣmīdhara's commentary on *Saundarya-Laharī*. Sage Thiruvalluvar has given precious clues likewise to the student of *Siddha-Mārga* in his *Pañcaratnam* and *Jñāna Vettiyan*.

There is no short-cut to Eden. It is an exalted Path to hear the *Voice of the Silence* by controlling the senses. Out of infinite mercy, the Siddhas have indi-

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8 *Yoga Kuṇḍalinī Upaniṣad.*

cated the arduous path. Sage Thirumula had many difficulties in the practice of *yoga* and in the end succeeded through the grace of his *Guru*.

Starting from regulating one's conduct towards society, one should perforce pass through arduous stages before he becomes a *Siddha Puruṣa*—the toil is hard, patient, and long continued. The paths of *Karma*, *Bhakti*, *Yoga*, and *Jñāna* have been promulgated to different *Adhikārīs*. The *Mantra Śāstras* as well as *Siddha Śāstras* describe exalted paths to be followed progressively by man. For the man who leads a righteous life and who is a highly evolved being, success is in store.

What is found emphasised in the writings of eighteen Siddhas has been stated in the *Yoga-Kuṇḍalinī-Upaniṣad* :—

समाधिमेकेन सममममृतं यांन्ति योगिनः ।
यथाग्निर्दारुमध्यस्थो नोत्तिष्ठेन्मथनं विना ॥
विना चाभ्यासयोगेन ज्ञानदीपस्तथा न हि ।
घटमध्यगतो दीपो बाह्येनैव प्रकाशते ॥
भिन्ने तस्मिन्घटे चैव दीपज्वाला च भासते ।
स्वकायं घटमित्युक्तं यथा दीपो हि तत्पदम् ॥
गुरुवाक्यसमाभिन्ने ब्रह्मज्ञानं स्फुटी भवेत ।
कर्णधार गुरुं प्राप्य कृत्यम सूक्ष्मं तरन्ति च ॥[9]

May we get great comfort through this basic fact :—"Lord lives in the temple, *i.e.*, our body. He is dancing in our heart." Are we to be led away to disease, dirt, and destruction through the five 'Thieves—Senses? No—we shall yearn to hear *the voice of the silence* within this great shrine—our *sthūla* body.[10]

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[9] *Yoga Kuṇḍalinī Upaniṣad.*

[10] *Āgama Śāstras* carry on this great theme of our body which the sculptors have engraved in South Indian Temples. The great temple of *Śrī Natarāja* at Chidambaram is in this view the body of a Yogin with head in the South and feet in the North.

ORIGINALITY AND SANSKRIT POETICS*

By K. A. Subramania Iyer

In any field where a great number of workers arise in every generation and labour with keen rivalry, it will not be long before novelty and originality become recognised as the mark of the better worker. This was true also of Sanskrit Poets in Ancient India. They attached great value to tradition, it is true, and held in great reverence the poets of the past and their achievements and yet they knew that it was not enough to imitate them. Kālidāsa may seem rather apologetic in tone when he says: न चापि काव्यं नवमित्यवद्यम्, but he was fully aware that the readers of his poems and the spectators of his dramas expected to see some novelty and originality in his works before pronouncing them to be good. Poets and critics often refer to novelty as an essential element in poetry. It figures with vivid life-like description, judicious use of homonyms, clear *Rasa* and harmonious arrangement of sounds in that combination of qualities which even a writer like Bāṇa declared difficult to attain in his *Harṣacarita*.[1] He mentions the combination in his *Kādambarī*[2] also, and novelty appears in it in the words: नवैः पदार्थैरुपपादिताः कथाः। Similarly, Rājaśekhara, in his *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* places high the poet in whose words there is something new:

किन्त्वस्ति।यद्वचसि वस्तु नवं सदुक्ति—
संदर्भिणां स धुरि तस्य गिरः पवित्राः ॥

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* Read at the 12th All-India Oriental Conference, Benares Hindu University.

1 नवोऽर्थो जातिरग्राम्या श्लेषोऽक्लिष्टः स्फुटो रसः।
विकटाक्षरबन्धश्च कृत्स्नमेकत्र दुष्करम् ॥ *Harṣacarita*, Intro. verse 8.

2 *Kādambarī*—Introductory verse 9.

In the midst of this universal recognition that novelty is an essential element in poetry, there was also the realisation that it was difficult to achieve. There was the feeling that the first poets, especially Vālmīki, had already dealt with all subjects that it was difficult for later poets to find any new subject or to say anything new about the old ones. Some people had the feeling that there was after all a limit to the subjects which can be described in poetry and that the first poets had already dealt with them all. Abhinavagupta gives expression to this fear of some in the following words: वर्णनीयस्य पारिमित्यात् आद्यकविनैव स्पृष्टत्वात् सर्वस्य तद्विषयं प्रतिभानं तज्जातीयमेव स्यात्। ततश्च काव्यमपि तज्जातीयमेवेति भ्रष्ट इदानीं कविप्रयोगः[3]। Rājaśekhara also refers to a very similar view of some scholars in his *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*: पुराणकविक्षुण्णे वर्त्मनि दुरापमस्पृष्टं वस्तु। ततस्तदेव संस्कर्तुं प्रयतेत[4]। In this view the later poets can do no more than perfect what has alrealy been said by earlier poets. They cannot deal with any new subject. Real novelty is beyond their reach, not because they are not gifted, but because after all, there is a limit to the things which can be described in poetry and they have already been described by the first poet. वर्णनीयस्य पारिमित्यं, it is this which stands in the way of novelty according to this view.

Sometimes this difficulty in attaining novelty is presented in another manner. This वर्णनीयस्य पारिमित्यं is denied. It is pointed out that things in this world differ from one another widely in their peculiarities and individual characteristics. If these are observed in detail and described as they are, that alone would introduce a great deal of novelty in literature. If, in addition, the poet has

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[3] *Dhvanyāloka* with *Locana*, p. 522 (*Kashi Sanskrit Series*, No. 135).

[4] *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, p. 62 (*Gaekwad O. Series*, No. 1).

recourse to the power of suggestion in presenting these individual characteristics of things, the beauty and novelty of his work would reach their climax. Novelty would thus consist in the observation of the infinite variety and richness that exist in the individual characteristics of the objects of the world and their presentation through अभिधा or व्यञ्जना। वर्णनीयस्य पारिमित्यं is not a fact. It is its richness and variety which are facts.

To this view the objection is raised that poets do not describe all this variety and richness in the individual characteristics of things. They do not perceive it at all, as the Yogins do. Yogins have the remarkable capacity of visualising this infinite variety in the nature of things and in the workings of other people's minds. Poets do not possess this capacity. As Ānandavardhana puts it:—
न हि तैरतीतमनागतं वर्तमानं च परिचितादिस्वलक्षणं योगिभिरिव प्रत्यक्षीक्रियते[5]।

Even if they actually cognise all this variety of things they cannot describe it in their works, because words can only express the universal aspect of things, they cannot refer to their individual aspects. As Abhinava puts it: प्रत्यक्षदर्शनेऽपि हि शब्दाः संकेतितं प्राडुर्व्यवहाराय स स्मृतः। तदा स्वलक्षणं नास्ति संकेतस्तेन तत्र नः[6] ॥

All this variety is outside the scope of words. All that the poets can do is to present things in their universal aspects and, in doing so, they would only be repeating what the very first poets have already described. This universal aspect of things figures in the experience of all mankind and, of course, it has not escaped the cognitions of the first poets. As Ānandavardhana puts it:—
तत्रानुभाव्यानुभवसामान्यं सर्वप्रतिपत्तृसाधारणं परिमितत्वात् पुरातनानामेव गोचरीभूतं तस्याविषयत्वानुपपत्तेः[7]।

[5] *Dhvanyāloka*, p. 541.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 542.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 541.

Thus, in this view, it is not the limited nature of things but the incapacity of words to express anything more than the universal aspect of things which stands in the way of originality.

Not only did these theoretical considerations focuss attention on the question of novelty and originality. There was also the practical necessity of assessing the merits of the new poets who were rising in each generation and whose works often resembled in words and ideas those of the ancient ones. It was necessary to lay down some principle according to which these resemblances might be judged. It was necessary to see whether and to what extent it was possible to concede merit to the new author in spite of the correspondences between his works and that of the ancients. These resemblances were not all due to the same cause. They were sometimes the result of the slow and unconscious absorption by the new author of the literary traditions of the past, involving a close acquaintance with the works of the ancients. Some poets have an immense range in reading, a great memory, conscious or unconscious, and a perfect skill in using material taken from the past. Sometimes the resemblance is due to deliberate imitation of the style of the master by the young poet undergoing training, and, finally, there was the unscrupulous plagiarist whom Bāṇa describes in the following words :

अन्यवर्णपरावृत्त्या बन्धचिह्ननिगूहनैः ।
अनाख्यातः सतां मध्ये कविचौरो विभाव्यते[8] ॥

It is only natural that such theoretical and practical considerations should sooner or later raise the question of novelty or originality in literature. The object of this paper is not to study novelty and originality as they are actually found in the works of Sanskrit poets, but to

[8] *Harṣacarita*, Intro. verse.

draw attention to one or two ideas on the subject found in the Alaṅkāraśāstra.

Here, as in so many other matters connected with literature, it is to the *Dhvanyāloka* and to its Commentary, the *Locana*, that we must turn to find the question openly discussed. Ānandavardhana has something to say on the theoretical as well as the practical difficulties raised in connection with novelty.

To begin with the first theoretical difficulty, the one based on the limited nature of the things of the world, **वर्णनीयस्य पारिमित्यं**, he declares that a touch of ध्वनि makes the whole world new and inexhaustible. As against the word पारिमित्यं he uses the words आनन्त्य and नवत्वं and to achieve both, the best way is to introduce ध्वनि in poetry. ध्वनि freshens everything, and makes everything new. He is very anxious to dispel the notion that the first poets have exhausted all subjects and ideas and, therefore, there is nothing new left for the later poets to describe. The secret of having ever fresh things to say lies within the poet himself. ध्वनि is the secret. Through it the प्रतिभा of the poet becomes inexhaustible. His words and style acquire a freshness which can never be anticipated by any ancient poet even though they may be dealing with an old subject or expressing an old idea.[9] As Abhinava says: तेन वाणीनां काव्यवाक्यानां तावन्नवत्वमायाति तच्च प्रतिभानन्त्ये सत्युपपद्यते तच्चाथानन्त्ये तच्च ध्वनिप्रभेदात्[10] । On another occasion Abhinava is equally explicit:— प्रतिभानां वाणीनां चानन्त्यं ध्वनिकृतम्[11] । It need hardly be explained that आनन्त्य and नवत्व are really two aspects of the same thing. If an idea or subject can be ever

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[9] ध्वनेर्यः सगुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्यस्याध्वा प्रदर्शितः । अनेनानन्त्यमायाति कवीनां प्रतिभागुणः ॥
अतो ह्यन्यतमेनापि प्रकारेण विभूषिता । वाणी नवत्वमायाति पूर्वार्थान्वयवत्यपि ॥
Dhvanyāloka, p. 522.

[10] *Ibid.* *Locana*—p. 522.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 527.

freshened and made new (नव) by special treatment, it naturally becomes infinite and inexhaustible. That is why the words आनन्त्य and नवत्व occur so frequently in this section of the *Dhvanyāloka*.)

This conception of novelty is amply illustrated by Ānandavardhana. In the verse सविभ्रमस्मितोद्भेदाः[12] four things are mentioned: Smiles, glances, speech and walk of the beloved. They are described directly. The words which describe them are used in their ordinary sense. To describe a smile as beautiful (सविभ्रम) a glance as लोल, speech as halting (प्रस्खलद्), and a walk as languid (अलस) is a direct way of saying something. But when another poet describes these very things as follows, he is using a new method: What in her who is touching her youth (स्पृशन्त्यास्तारुण्यम्) is not beautiful: the smile is innocent (स्मितं किंचिन्मुग्धम्), the wealth of her glances is restless and sweet (तरलमधुरो दृष्टिविभवः), the flow of her words is full of flavour due to the ever rising waves of wit in it (परिस्पन्दो वाचामभिनवविलासोर्मिसरसः)[13]. Here the words मुग्ध, मधुर, विभव, सरस, किसलयित, परिमल, स्पर्शन, are not used in their usual sense. They have been deliberately used in other meanings for their suggestive value. They suggest a natural spontaneous beauty in the smile, an appeal to all and an inexhaustibility in the glances, a soothing and pleasing effect in the words, a dignity and grace in her walk, and an attractiveness and worthiness in her youth.[14] These things have become new, and all because of the deliberate use of those words in meanings other than their usual ones. As Abhinava puts it: तै स्मितादेः प्रसिद्धस्यार्थस्य स्थविरवेधो विदितधर्म त्व्यतिरेकेण धर्मान्तरपात्रता यावत् क्रियते

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 524.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 523.

[14] तैरनाहतसौन्दर्य—सार्वजनवाल्लभ्य—अक्षीणप्रसरत्व—सन्तापप्रशमन—तर्पकत्व—सौकुमार्य—सार्वकालिकतत्संस्कारानुवृत्तित्व—यत्नाभिलषणीयसक्तत्त्वानि ध्वन्यमानानि.।
(*Ibid.*, p. 523).

तावदपूर्वमेव सम्पद्यते[15]. These words thus used present the smiles, etc., as associated with attributes different from those with which the Creator himself has endowed them. They have become new and the words which express them have originality because the poet has made use of अविवक्षितवाच्यध्वनि in presenting an old idea.

But it is not always necessary to use words in other than their usual meanings to achieve novelty. There are other methods available, also coming under the general name of *Dhvani*. There is that famous verse of Amarukavi शून्यं वासगृहं विलोक्य etc. It has a march of its own, it describes a series of acts of the beloved and the whole verse is meant to suggest शृङ्गाररस and it does suggest शृङ्गार of the '*sambhoga*' type in which there is mutual satisfaction. The verse of the later poet quoted by Ānandavardhana is of the same type. It has the same march and it is also meant to suggest शृङ्गार. As the authorship of the verse is uncertain, it is not easy to say whether it has been influenced by Amaru's verse or not, but what Abhinava points out is that in spite of the infiuence the author has succeeded in making his treatment original. The '*rati*' which is described is of a more refined type and in this process of refinement it has become new. In Abhinava's own words : तथापि प्रथमश्लोके परस्पराभिलाषप्रसरनिरोधपरं-परापर्यवसानासंभवेन या रतिरुक्ता सोभयोरप्येकस्वरूपचित्तवृत्त्यनुप्रवेशमाचक्षाणा रतिं सुतरां पोषयति । (*Dhva*. p. 524).

It is not the type of love in which there is fulfilment of desires which is depicted here. It is of a more refined type. The lovers show restraint based on consideration for one another. There is complete harmony of feeling and attitude. This restraint makes the '*rati*' altogether more beautiful, something totally new though the poet has used an ancient form to present it.

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15 *Ibid*., p. 523.

This brings Ānandavardhana on to a more comprehensive statement. The only way of freshening up old ideas is to make '*rasa*' the central thing in a poem and make everything else subordinate to it. These other things would then automatically become new. Their novelty would consist in their serving a new purpose, that of developing and suggesting the '*rasa*' on which the poet is concentrating his attention. It matters very little that these other elements can be observed in real life or have been described by other poets in their works. Provided that the poet has made the right use of these things taken from real life or from ancient literature he has managed to introduce originality in his work. Commenting on the word दृष्टपूर्वाः in the verse :

दृष्टपूर्वा अपि ह्यर्थाः काव्ये रसपरिग्रहात् ।
सर्वे नवा इवाभान्ति मधुमास इव द्रुमाः[16] ॥

Abhinava remarks : बहिः प्रत्यक्षादिभिः प्रमाणैः प्राक्तनैश्च कविभिरित्युभयथा नेयम् . The poet may take thoughts, ideas, and images either from his own observation and experience or from the works of other poets, but he has to freshen them up before they can become suggestive of the *rasa* which he wants his reader to experience. In the verse शेषो हिमगिरिस्त्वं च etc., the idea that *Śeṣanāga* carries the burden of the Earth is expressed directly, *i.e.*, through अभिधा. But when Bāṇa says धरणीधारणायाधुना त्वं शेषः, the word *Śeṣa* means *Śeṣanāga* only in the second stage. In other words, it comes through व्यञ्जना. Any idea which comes through व्यञ्जना, has a far greater charm than the same idea coming through अभिधा. The poet who takes an idea conveyed by an older poet through अभिधा and conveys it through व्यञ्जना in his work, all with a view to develop the '*rasa*' or '*bhāva*' on which he has concentrated his attention, has really made it a new thing. That is what Bāṇa has done

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 528.

and in this case, he not only uses व्यञ्जना but that variety of it which is based on शब्दशक्ति. Kālidāsá's method in the verse एवंवादिनि देवर्षौ is very similar, except that here, व्यञ्जना is based on अर्थशक्ति. Compared to the anonymous verse "कृते वरकथालापे कुमार्यः पुलकोद्गमैः। सूचयन्ति स्पृहामन्तर्लज्जयावनताननाः ॥"[17] where लज्जा and स्पृहा are openly expressed, Kālidāsa's stanza has a rare beauty; because here स्पृहा and लज्जा are व्यङ्ग्य and that is what makes them totally new. In the *Locana*, Abhinava gives a few instances of his own attempts to make old ideas new. "Wealth, rather exhausted by wandering from hand to hand of generous people, seems to take complete rest when it reaches misers."[18] This is an old idea, says Abhinava. He makes it new by putting it as follows: "Is it right that not a moment's rest should be given to wealth which has come to you, you who are the only protector of those who are scared?"[19] The idea of making uninterrupted gifts, directly expressed in the previous verse, is conveyed here by व्यञ्जना and that is what makes it new.

The verse सज्जेइ सुरहिमासो presents the effects of spring through व्यञ्जना. "Spring, we are told, gets ready but does not deliver the arrows of Cupid, the mango-blossoms, whose points have young women as their targets." This verse does not openly speak of the effects of spring on youth; it just suggests them, and that is why they appear fresh compared to the same things conveyed through अभिधा in the verse: सुरभिसमये प्रवृत्ते सहसा प्रादुर्भवन्ति रमणीयाः। रागवतामुत्कलिकाः सदैव सहकारकलिकाभिः. ॥ By openly mentioning रागवतामुत्कलिकाः, the effects of spring, the writer has spoiled his verse. As

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17 *Ibid.*, p. 528.

18 चाइअणपरंपरासंचारणरेव अनिःसहसरीराः।
अत्था किवणघरत्था संत्थावत्था सुवन्तीव ॥—*Ibid.*, p. 536

19 भअविहलरक्खणे कमल्लसरणागआणं अत्थाणं।
खणमत्तं वि ण दिण्णा विस्सामकेहत्ति जुत्तमिणम् ॥— *Ibid.*, p. 535;

Abhinava puts it : शब्दस्पृष्टेऽर्थे का ह्यद्यता.[20] The effects of spring, as presented by the previous verse, appear fresh, not only because they are व्यङ्ग्य but also because the poet talks about spring getting arrows ready and not delivering them. This presentation of spring as something which is सचेतन is an additional cause of the novelty of the effects of spring described in that verse. The प्रौढोक्ति of the poet has intervened to add to the novelty.

The secret, then, of making everything new in poetry is to make one 'rasa' the अङ्गिरस and make everything subordinate to it. "अङ्गिभूतरसाद्याश्रयेण काव्ये क्रियमाणे नवार्थलाभो भवति । बन्धच्छाया च महती संपद्यते.॥" Ānandavardhana claims that this has been done by Vālmīki in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and by Vyāsa in the *Mahābhārata*. *Karuṇa* is the main *rasa* in the former work and *śānta* in the latter.

So far we have seen that presenting an idea as व्यङ्ग्य makes it new. That is ordinarily the case. But there is no hard and fast rule about it. Sometimes, it is the वाच्य which appears as new and the व्यङ्ग्य seems rather hackneyed and commonplace. The verse :

मुनिर्जयति योगीन्द्रो महात्मा कुम्भसंभवः ।
येनैकचुलुके दृष्टौ तौ दिव्यौ मत्स्यकच्छपौ ॥[21]

is an instant in point. Here the वाच्य is that the sage Agastya saw the divine fish and tortoise in one palmful of water. The व्यङ्ग्य is the presence of the whole ocean in a palmful of water. The whole object of the verse is to express a भाव, the writer's devotion to sage Agastya. '*Ādbhutarasa*' is only a means to achieve this end, but in suggesting this *rasa*, the वाच्य plays a greater part than the व्यङ्ग्य, mainly because it is not so hackneyed. As Ānanda puts it : अत्र ह्येकचुलुके जलनिधिसन्निधानादपि दिव्यमत्स्यकच्छपदर्शनमक्षुण्णत्वादद्भुतरसानुगुणतरम्.[22] Thus, अक्षुण्णत्व, the fact of not being

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[20] *Ibid.*, p. 528.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 534.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 534,

hackneyed, of being something new, this is what makes an idea suggestive of '*rasa*', and here it belongs to the वाच्य and not to the व्यङ्ग्य. Nor is the वाच्य what is called an '*alaṅkāra*'. If there is something new about an idea, it does not matter whether it is a वस्तु or अलंकार. It can perform fully its task of suggesting the रस or भाव in question.

Sometimes the व्यङ्ग्य, when analysed, is found to be an '*alaṅkāra*' or a picturesque idea. It beautifies the वाच्य and thus becomes a cause of novelty in the poem. As Abhinava puts it : अलङ्कारेण व्यङ्ग्येन वाच्योपस्कारे नवत्वम् [3], and gives a verse of his own as an example. That even wise people should experience hunger, thirst, desire, jealousy, and fear of death, is an old idea. But Abhinava freshens it up by putting it as follows : "Your hair, like swarms of bees mad in spring, used to awaken my love. Now that they are grey like ashes in a crematorium, why don't they lead to detachment ?[24] Here two ideas are suggested, both picturesque ideas or '*alaṅkāras*' : (1) कारणाभावे पि काम एव वर्धते (विभावना), (2) कामस्य महिमा वर्णयितुमशक्यः (आक्षेपः) ; and they beautify and freshen up the openly expressed meaning of the verse. As Abhinava puts it : अत्र ह्याक्षेपेण विभावनया च ध्वन्यमानाभ्यां वाच्यमुपस्कृतमिति नवत्वं सत्यपि पुराणार्थयोगित्वे. Similarly, it is an old idea that one whose body is withered through old age may still have no detachment from the things of the world, because of his illusory belief that there is no such thing as death.[25] Abhinava makes it new by putting it in the following way : "This is not old age which is found on the head. It is the black serpent of Time.

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23 क्षुत्तृष्णाकाममात्सर्यं मरणाच्च महद्भयम् ।
पंचैतानि विवर्धन्ते वार्धके विदुषामपि ॥

24 वसन्तमत्तालिपरंपरोपमाः कचास्तवासन् किल रागवृद्धये ।
श्मशानभूभागपरागभासुराः कथं तदेते न मनाग्विरक्तये ॥—*Ibid.*, p. 536.

27 जराजीर्णशरीरस्य वैराग्यं यन्न जायते ।
तन्नूनं हृदये मृत्युर्दृढ़न्नास्तीति निश्चयः ॥—*Ibid.*, p. 537

which, blind with anger emits the white foam of poison. Man sees it and yet is happy and does not seek a way out. Strange indeed is man's bondage.''[26] Abhinava himself tells us what is new in this: अत्राद्भुतेन व्यङ्ग्येन वाच्यमुपस्कृतं शान्तरसप्रतिपत्त्यङ्गत्वाच्चारु भवतीति नवत्वं सत्यप्यस्मिन् पुराणश्लोके[27]. The sense of wonder at the vanity of human beings is here suggested and it freshens up the old idea which is directly expressed. Thus freshened, it becomes fit to suggest the *śāntarasa*, which is the main purpose of the poet.

It is not merely through व्यञ्जना that things attain freshness. Things in the world, both sentient and insentient, possess infinite richness and variety, based on differences of Time, Space, Circumstances, and Individuality, and all this, when described directly through अभिधाव्यापार is quite enough to provide ever new material for poetry. Pārvatī is described so many times in the *Kumārasambhava* and the description appears to be quite fresh each time. "The graces of poetry are as endless as those of the beloved,''[28] says Ānanda in his *Viṣamabāṇalīlā*, a work in which he seems to have put into practice some of his critical teachings, and the loss of which is, therefore, most regrettable. All insentient things can be described in terms of sentient things. In fact poets all over the world have taken a delight in doing so and Ānanda tells us that he has shown the way in this matter to later poets in his *Viṣamabāṇalīlā*. In the examples discussed above, we saw how single ideas or images can be made new by conveying them through

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26 जरा नेयं मूर्ध्नि ध्रुवमयमसौ कालभुजगः
क्रुधान्धः फूत्कारैः स्फुटगरलफेनान् प्रकिरति ।
तदेनं संपश्यत्यथ च सुखितम्मन्यहृदयः ।
शिवोपायन्नेच्छन् बत बत सुधीरः खलु जनः ॥—*Ibid.*, p. 536.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 537.

28 णताण घडइ ओही ण अ ते दीसन्ति कह वि पुनरुत्ता ।
जे विब्भमा पिआणं अत्थो वा सुकइवाणीणम् ॥—*Ibid.*, p. 539.

व्यञ्जना and relating them to the '*rasa*' in question. It is not enough to handle single ideas in this manner. Stories taken from ancient legends have to be freshened up and intimately related to the '*rasa*'. Thus, the story as a whole, the प्रबन्ध, apart from its parts acquires suggestiveness. This topic is dealt with by Ānandavardhana in *Kārikas* 10-14 of the 3rd *Udyota* of the *Dhvanyāloka*. The method is quite simple, and has been followed by poets all over the world. (The poet takes the material from the accumulated stores of legend of his race. He sets to work all that he judges unnecessary, or unfit, to add all that is lacking and, finally, without effort, almost without consciousness of his power, he endows his work with his own personal quality in the act of making it serve his own purpose, '*rasa*'. It is this which ensures originality. The inheritance of a poet may be great and his resemblances may be numerous and easily perceived, but if they all are properly related to the '*rasa*' which he wants to develop they all become his own.

The foregoing remarks have shown that many are the ways in which novelty can be introduced in poetry and that the fear of staleness based on the idea of 'वर्णनीयस्य पारिमित्यम्' is groundless. As Ānandavardhana concludes : इत्थं यथा यथा निरूप्यते तथा तथा न लभ्यतेऽन्तः काव्यार्थानाम् ।[20].

But all this removes only the first theoretical difficulty raised at the beginning of this paper. There remains the second one, based on the nature of words. In this view words are supposed to be capable only of expressing the universal aspect of things, figuring in the experience of everybody and not that infinite richness and variety which belongs to the individualities of things. But the objection is really not valid. It goes against the fundamental fact that we do experience novelty in the work of some poets.

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[20] *Ibid.*, p. 544.

Nor would it do to say that the novelty is confined to the way of saying things, and not to the things themselves. An expression is a set of words denoting something. The connection between expression and things expressed is so close that any novelty in the one implies novelty in the other. Secondly, all the things which are described by the words of the poet do seem to correspond to what one has oneself observed of the rich individuality of things. The description must, therefore, have some originality. If we concede originality to even one poet after Vālmīki, the inexhaustibility of things is proved.[30]

Secondly, the statement that words denote the general and universal aspect of things may be true of individual words taken in isolation. But that is not true of sentences which are the real units of speech. Sentences denote particulars and not universals, according to all views, though scholars may differ as to the exact nature of these particulars and the exact way in which they express them. अभिहितान्वय and अन्विताभिधान both agree that '*viśeṣa*' is the meaning of a sentence and not '*sāmānya*.' If that is right the whole basis of the objection falls to the ground.[31]

This way of looking at novelty explains why Ānandavardhana is not prepared to condemn outright the poet who takes ideas from the works of previous writers. Everything depends on how he does it. There are some poets who merely change the words but retain the same idea at least partly. The difference between : जयन्ति नीलकण्ठस्य नीलाः कण्ठे महाहयः and ते पान्तु वःप शुपतेरलिनीलभासः। कण्ठप्रदेशघटिताः फणिनः

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[30] वाल्मीकिव्यतिरिक्तस्य यद्येकस्यापि कस्यचित् ।
इष्यते प्रतिभार्थेषु तत्तदानन्त्यमक्षयम् ॥ – *Ibid.*, p. 543.

[31] तेनायमर्थः । पदानां तावत् सामान्ये वा तद्वति वापोहे वा यत्र कुत्रापि वस्तुनि समयः । किमनेन वादान्तरेण । वाक्यात्तावद् विशेषः प्रतीयते इति कस्यात्र वादिनो विमतिः । अन्विताभिधानतद्विपर्ययसंसर्गभेदादिवाक्यार्थपक्षेषु सर्वत्र विशेषस्याप्रत्याख्येयत्वात् ।—*Ibid.*, p. 542.

स्फुरन्तः ।। is only in the words. No such transformation of the idea has taken place as we noticed in the various examples of novelty discussed above. This kind of resemblance is called प्रतिबिम्बकल्प by Ānandavardhana who condemns it as तात्त्विकदृशिरशून्यं[32] which is explained by Abhinava thus: न हि तेन किंचिदपूर्वमुत्प्रेक्षितं प्रतिबिम्बमप्येवमेव[33] Not all cases of प्रतिबिम्बकल्प are so clear. Sometimes the details are given in a different order, or some of the details are omitted, or a detail is elaborately described, or the old idea is expressed in a stanza of a different metre, and so on. Howsoever it is done, it is only the externals, the sound elements, which are different. The idea remains the same.[34] It is not made new through the intervention of *Dhvani*. Sometimes an attempt is made to make the idea itself new. In the example of प्रतिबिम्बकल्प given above, there is mention of black snakes hanging round the neck of Śiva. But if the imitation were like this:— जयन्ति धवलव्यालाः शम्भोर्जूटावलम्बिनः, the change would not only be in the words, but in the idea also. The new verse speaks about white snakes hanging from the head, instead of black snakes hanging from the neck. Writers like Rājaśekhara approve of this kind of change. "सोऽयमनुग्राह्यो मार्गः[35] he says. He may have had young people aspiring to be poets in mind. He may have thought that this kind of literary activity would give them practice. But Ānanda and Abhinava have a higher standard. They disapprove of this kind also. It is called आलेख्यप्रख्य 'picture-like.' Ānanda calls it तुच्छात्म. It is obviously a kind of imitation and the remarks of Abhinava are characteristic: अनुकारे ह्यनुकार्यबुद्धिरेव चित्रपुस्तकादाविव, न तु सिन्दूरादिबुद्धिः स्फुरति । सापि न चारुत्वाय । There are many kinds

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 547.
[33] *Ibid.*, p. 547.
[34] See *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, p. 66-65.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 71.

of it. Sometimes the original contains *alaṅkāras* the imitation leaves them out, or the original mentions a general idea and the imitation cites particular instances or the imitation lays particular emphasis on what is a mere detail in the original, and so on.[36] All these varieties have one thing in common: in spite of the slight change in the original idea, there is no transformation of it through *Dhvani*. Hence the Dhvanikāra condemns it. It is the third kind of resemblance called 'तुल्यदेहितुल्य' which he really approves. Here the resemblance of the later work to the former is like that of the face to the moon. It has an individuality, a charm of its own. All the examples of novelty which we have already discussed must come within this category. Rājaśekhara also approves of it, though Ānandavardhana would probably take objection to some of the examples which he gives. He would miss the presence of *Dhvani* in them.

The novelty discussed in this paper is of the relative kind. Something has come down traditionally and the problem is how to make it new and incorporate it in the new work. There is another kind of novelty, the absolute kind in which the poet's ideas and images bear no kind of resemblance to those of previous writers. They are the outright creations of the new poet, who is a genius. There are not many who are capable of such creations and the few who exist are the favourites of the Goddess Saraswatī herself. As Ānandavardhana says:

परस्वादानेच्छाविरतमनसो वस्तु सुकवेः ।
सरस्वत्येवैषा घटयति यथेष्टं भगवती ॥

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[36] *Ibid.*, p. 69—71.

RESEARCH IN INDIAN PHILOSOPHY : A REVIEW

By P. T. Raju

(*Continued from page* 248)

Yet scholars are not wanting who studied Indian Philosophy for philosophy's sake and who could make a philosophical use of the Indian concepts. In 1802 Alexander Hamilton, while returning from India to England, was interned in Paris during the war. There he found Fr. Schlegel, whom he taught Sanskrit and who later wrote "*On the Language and the Wisdom of the Indians.*" Thus was the existence of Sanskrit and Indian Philosophy brought to the notice of the Germans. In 1802 Anquetil Duperon translated the *Upaniṣads* from the Persian version, which later influenced Schelling and Schopenhauer. Through Schelling we may say even Hegel was influenced by the Upaniṣadic ideas. But the reaction of Hegel to Indian thought is rather critical and he places in his *History of Philosophy* the whole of oriental philosophy including the Indian, very low in the development of the Idea. He writes, for instance, "Individuality, indeed, is not elevated to personality, but the power unfolds wildly enough as inconsistency of the passing over to the opposite; we are in a realm of unbridled madness,—— where the commonest presence is directly raised to the (status) of something divine and the substance is imagined as existing in infinite form, and no less immediately what has form is sublimated into the formless."[6] This passage is a criticism in the peculiar Hegelian language of the so-called Hindu pantheism and the identification of the *Brahman* and the world. We have to note that Max

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[6] Translation by Schrader.

Müller's work was not born by that time and Hegel had little knowledge of our systematic philosophy. Even in Schelling we do not find any explicit use made of the Indian philosophical concepts. Probably Schlegel, the philosopher, and Novalis in his magical idealism were greatly influenced by Indian thought as they understood it. But in Schopenhauer we find explicit use made of the concept of *Māyā* in his great philosophical work, *The World as Will and Idea.*[7] This concept he understood as the principle of individuality, and just as Indian Philosophy preaches liberation from *Māyā* he preached liberation from individuality. We should therefore say that he put the concept to philosophical use and that his motive in studying Indian Philosophy was philosophical. In the case of Schelling even if he incorporated the idea of the undifferentiated *Brahman* of the *Upaniṣads* into his Philosophy of Identity, the latter appears and is presented by the historians as a more natural development out of Fichte's philosophy than due to an adoption of the idea of the *Brahman*. But in Schopenhauer the adoption is deliberate and explicit.

Some of Paul Deussen's work also comes under this category. His *System of the Vedānta* is really the best of the earliest interpretations of the philosophy of Śaṅkara from a purely philosophical standpoint. But we do find similar other interpretations by later scholars of the West. Oldenberg's *Buddha* shows fine philosophical insight. But Deussen's study of Indian Philosophy went farther and resulted in his constructive work, *Elements of Metaphysics,* which is a reconciliation and synthesis of Kant, Schopenhauer, Plato and Śaṅkara. One may or may not accept his theories, but the translation of the work into all the Indian languages will be the best inauguration of pure

[7] Vol. III, p. 418. There are numerous references to the word. See *Index*.

philosophical literature in them. We should, therefore, say that Duessen's interest also in Indian Philosophy was philosophical.

But the names of scholars whose interest is really philosophical are not many. This is to the detriment of Indian philosophical research. In the absence of philosophical interest, even the attempts at sympathetic appreciation appear laboured. Though misinformed and critical, a professional philosopher's understanding of Indian Philosophy would be philosophically more valuable than that of a mere orientalist.

Particularly when we are dealing with Westerners we should not overlook men who have discovered for us, through a spirit of adventure, many philosophical works especially in Buddhism. They ventured at great risk to their lives into far-off lands like Mongolia, Tibet, and Annam and brought for us philosophical treasures. A young Hungarian, Csoma, for instance, was the first to venture into Tibet and read *Kahgyur* and *Bstangyur*. Most of such adventurers were Christian missionaries.

The discovery of oriental literature and philosophy, particularly Buddhistic, gave birth to a number of academies in many of the European countries, Russia, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, France, England, America, and even Poland. Professorships were instituted in Sanskrit in many of the important European universities, and great names like those of Garbe, Geldner, Hillebrandt, Jacobi and Max Walleser in Germany, Bühler in Austria, Tucci in Italy, Poussin and Levi in France, Carpenter, Max Müller and Macdonell, Keith, and Mr. and Mrs. Rhys Davids in England, Bloomfield and Lanman in America, Winternitz in Czechoslovakia and Calland in Holland, etc., etc., became famous throughout the world of Sanskrit scholarship. Yet the interest remained merely antiquarian. These

scholars felt that they were interpreting to the world what was ancient and surviving as such. Few as yet of the ideas which they claim to have discovered are found worthy of adoption by their philosophers. They are only interpreting or evaluating alien ideas in terms of their own philosophical concepts. Such work done on the best available scientific lines so far discovered in the West has certainly its uses. It has stimulated the orientals to themselves make a scientific study of their religions and philosophies. But the use of this work is very limited in the hands of the occidentals. It is limited to an understanding of the old and goes no farther.

III

Such work has revived the Indian's interest in Indian Philosophy, and the adoption of the scientific method of approach made him maintain an objective attitude to the subject. And this attitude in him does not result in unsympathetic evaluation. In the case of the Western scholar where he exerts himself to be sympathetic the result has the appearance of laboriousness and artificiality. But it has a naturalness in the Indian. For instance, Mrs. Rhys Davids in her writings is very sympathetic to Indian thought. Reviewing Betty Heimann's *Indian and Western Philosophy* she writes: "We say, in the matter of unlikeness, a shepherd sees sheep as different where we see all looking alike. Yet, were we to discuss sheep-philosophy with him, we should be sure to hear much about the ways of 'sheep,' wherein is likeness rather than the reverse. Let us hope that the author will now consider, not the reverse but the likeness. We speak, we write philosophically to elicit what is true in man as we find him. And to do that we must not merely consider him as he is, for that is only what he seems

to be . . ."[7a] But if we compare her exposition of Buddhistic doctrines with that of Radhakrishnan, Dasgupta or a Japanese scholar, we see the difference. However technical may be the topic there is some naturalness in the latter.

The revival of Indian interest in Indian thought, which is part of Indian Renascence, led to the founding of a number of oriental societies in India for the promotion of oriental studies. Poona, Calcutta, and Benares, we may say, have done the best work in India, and the Punjab and Madras followed. Later many Indian princes started and financed their Indian series, in Travancore Baroda, Kashmir, etc., but the work was mainly confined to editing and translating. Then Indian Philosophy was introduced into the Indian universities, became one of the general subjects for M.A., and in course of time entered the lists for specialisation, which created opportunities for intensive study. But the methods and motives remained the same: the study was an antiquarian study. The students were content with drawing a few comparisons, finding out a few parallels between Indian and European philosophers. If one looks through some of the early question papers on Indian Philosophy, one finds that the examiners wanted to encourage any comparison, however superficial. And the branding of Indian doctrines by western scholars long remained a hindrance to a true philosophical understanding. For the tendency of the Indian student was to call a system by the name given by a western scholar first and then discover all the support for it in its concepts, while the true procedure should have been first to understand the concepts and then give a name.

But in spite of these drawbacks, there has been real advance in the quality of research. In the beginning of

[7a] *Philosophy*, April, 1938, p. 241.

the Renascence, when the Indians themselves began taking interest in their philosophy, the work with which they were mostly occupied was editing and translation. The unearthing of ancient manuscripts was as valuable as the discovery of X-rays in physics. There is justification for this attitude. Especially in Buddhism the discovery of manuscripts was as difficult as of X-rays. Buddhism was expelled from India; its original works, except those of the Hīnayāna in Pali, which were preserved in Ceylon, were mostly lost. A few were to be found in some remote corners of India like Nepal. The rest could be found mainly in translation in China, Tibet and Japan. As regards the orthodox Hindu systems, the Pandit, in whose custody they were, was loth to explain, much more to hand over the manuscripts to a non-Hindu. We can therefore easily imagine how difficult it must have been to procure them. Till 1820 little was known about Buddhism. In 1821, B. H. Hodgson, Resident in Nepal, got a number of Sanskrit books printed and transcribed. About that time Csoma, a young Hungarian, ventured into Tibet to learn of Buddhism. L. J. Schmidt of the Academy of St. Petersburg ascertained in 1829 that there were Buddhist works in the Mongolian language, which were translations from the Tibetan. M. Stanilas Julien about the same time gave a list of about one thousand Chinese translations. We can therefore understand that the discovery of the presence of manuscripts in that age constituted serious research. And translation and simple exposition, which to many now may appear philosophically not very important, received high applause and recognition both in universities and outside. Now we possess extensive material even in Buddhism, thanks to the labours of many academies and societies, published in series like the Pali Text Society Series, Bibliotheca Buddhica, The Sacred Books of the East, The

Harward Oriental Series, The Gaekwad Oriental Series, etc., etc. The present task of the Indian philosopher is not so much the procuring of manuscripts as understanding and interpreting the published works. The same remarks hold true of Hindu systems.

The first step towards a metaphysical understanding of Indian Philosophy was drawing comparisons between it and European philosophy. Hence it is an advance beyond editing and translating. To know one's own philosophy without knowing another's is as good as not knowing. In this sense a comparative understanding is very useful. But a more important reason is that Indians have begun to think and act in English. So unless they understand their thought in English they cannot be intellectually satisfied. The first step towards a philosophical understanding of Indian Philosophy in English is to draw comparisons between Indian and European Philosophers, in spite of all the pitfalls the procedure may have. This is really entering pure metaphysics as distinguished from religion and theology, in the discussions of which faith and sentiment wield too great an influence. Even then the attitude of the antiquarian has not been left back.

IV

Research that is now in vogue in India may roughly be classed into the following kinds: First, there is the discovery of manuscripts and editing and publication. This kind of work is not now given so high a recognition as it was in the beginning. Secondly, there is pure faithful translation in which Sir Ganganatha Jha, M.M. Kaviraj, Dr. Venis, Dr. Thibaut and many others have done immense work. Some of these savants have their misgivings about comparisons, which they say often mislead. Then there is pure exposition without reference to

European systems. Dr. S. N. Dasgupta has done a vast amount of such work, and his volumes on the *History of Indian Philosophy* will remain a standard work. There is, fourthly, interpretation with comparisons, which is distinctive of Sir Radhakrishnan's work. And as an expounder of India to the West he has not been so far excelled. Fifthly, there is the work done and advocated by the author, which is systematic comparison, with a view to future philosophical development. Sixthly, there are independent developments, which are constructions without bearings to any Indian or European system. Professor K. C. Bhattacharya's work falls under this class. Lastly, there is the work like that of Dr. H. Haldar, claiming no connexion with Indian thought.[8] Of these the first four constitute the bulk of work that is being done. The last is avowedly European philosophy. The sixth contains some misty speculations, which as they seem to be shot through a pistol without bearings and explanations perplex and puzzle the reader. But some recent work like Malkani's *Self* and the enunciation of personal beliefs as in *Contemporary Indian Philosophy* may lead to intelligible working out of independent systems. Though Malkani is an advaitin, his work is not a mere exposition of Śaṅkara. As regards the fifth kind, much work really needs to be done. For real developments can take place only when the underlying logical structures of the systems are laid bare through systematic comparison. Very often comparative understanding results in a new comprehension of concepts. I do not mean a new understanding of ancient fossilised concepts, but a deeper and clearer understanding of concepts in current use. This

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[8] It should not be understood that the authors mentioned under the above heads have done no other kind of work. The classification is based on the bulk of their work. Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, for instance, is doing creative work also.

is due to differing approaches made by Indian and Western philosophers to the same idea. For instance, the concept of negation does not mean different things to the Indian and Western logicians, but their approaches to the understanding of it are different. When we study both we see a new significance emerging, which would be identical neither with what the Western logicians mean nor with what the Indian does, but comprehends both and becomes deeper and an improvement. Such studies would be of current logical interest, and the student would be surprised to see new meanings and find how easily comparison clears tangled webs.[9]

Somehow so much interest is not evinced in comparative philosophy as in comparative religion; for one feels it easier to handle religious ideas than the philosophical. Yet if Indian Philosophy is to obtain an equal recognition with the European, however hard the task, it cannot be avoided. When the author discussed the point with a well-known Indian philosopher, the latter expressed his opinion that for a systematic comparative study we have to wait some more decades, during which time stray comparisons would be completed. But stray comparisons will always remain stray and much of them will not fit into systematic work. What I mean by systematic work is comparison that develops itself from an all comprehensive standpoint. Some idea of it will be obtained if one sees the plan of Masson-Oursel's work *Commparative Philosophy*. This work includes not only the philosophies of India and the West but also of the other countries. The study is systematic. We hear of principles of comparative religion; but we have not heard of any principles of comparative philosophy. And the only work worth the

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[9] Cf. the author's "The Reality of Negation." *The Philosophical Review*, Vol. L. Nos. 6 and 4; "The Buddhist Conception of Negation," *Proceedings of the Oriental Conference*, 1941.

name is Masson-Oursel's. The author's work, *Thought and Reality: Hegelianism and Advaita*, and his stray papers do not deal with such principles. Sir S. Radhakrishnan's *Eastern Religions and Western Thought*, which is a scholarly comparison of general standpoints and outlooks, is also not a discussion of principles. Undoubtedly, if any principles are to be discovered, they can be discovered only through systematic comparison, which should be the foundation. But by itself it cannot disclose the principles. When a systematic approach is also made, the principles reveal themselves. As in the case of every subject, the work of the beginner will contain defects and mistakes, which will have to be corrected by later scholars. Correction would be possible only when the work is systematic. My meaning will perhaps be clearer if I say that we need not only systematic comparisons but also a system of comparative principles.

The necessity for such work can be shown by asking why it is necessary to find out similarities and not differences when we compare two philosophies. In answer to the quotation above given from Mrs. Rhys Davids' review of Dr. Heimann's work, if Dr. Heimann asks why she should discover likenesses and not differences between Indian and Western philosophy, the only reply can be that comparative philosophy requires such study, which will have to show that man is man for all the differences. Otherwise, Dr. Heimann may well say that seeking differences is as good a study as any other.

But the general suspicion of comparative study in the minds of great savants like Sir Ganganatha Jha, M. M. Gopinath Kaviraj, and even Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, is not without reason. Comparative work began with the pointing out of mere superficial similarities, which often proved impediments to correct understanding. Indiscrete adoption of labels like subjective idealism, pantheism, etc.,

brought with them a mass of associations, which the student blindly accepted and much of the labour of the research worker was wasted in searching for concepts corresponding to these associations. This mistake is found in as recent a work as Dr. Urquhart's *Vedanta and Modern Thought*. How is it that in spite of repeated utterances of *tattvamasi* and *aham brahmāsmi*, the Indian advaitin does not feel that he is a subjective idealist? If a reason can be given, that will distinguish Śaṅkara's idealism from the subjective. If theological idealism could be differentiated from the subjective, why not Śaṅkara's as well? However, hundreds of pages must have been written on Śaṅkara's so-called subjective idealism, scepticism, agnosticism, Indian pantheism, absence of ethical outlook, etc., etc., which these savants must have viewed with suspicion and perhaps with some amusement.

Though comparison naturally begins with the picking out of superficial similarities, it should not stop there; and only when it stops there, is criticism justified. Naturally at the beginning we are misled by external appearances. Our insight into the concepts cannot be deep enough. Moreover, when the westerner approaches Indian thought, his tendency at every stage is to subsume all ideas under the philosophical concepts with which he is familiar. The same would be the tendency of the Indian reading Western philosophy. For example, when the author was reading Muirhead's *Ethics* and came across the definition that will is the self in movement, he could make out nothing. For how can self (*ātman*) move? Mind (*manas*) only can move. But when he came to learn that mind and self meant the same in Western thought, he could see the reasonableness of the definition. When big themes are dealt with even misunderstandings are published. We have probably to say that the spreading of even misunderstandings is a necessary step towards

better understanding; for without conflict and critical reaction deeper insight cannot be won.

In truth a philosophical understanding of Indian Philosophy, if we are to understand it at all in English, is impossible without using Western philosophical terminology and therefore Western philosophical concepts. But to use Western philosophical concepts is implicitly to make comparisons. Hence even simple translation is in a sense comparison. Simple and direct translation which avoids the use of fine idioms and flourishes involves the least comparison. Even then the difference is only one of degree not of kind. Simple direct translation uses popular language with simple concepts. But one having an acquaintance with semantics can easily see that two different languages mean different outlooks; and however simple be the language which the translator uses, he must tacitly be interpreting one philosophy in terms of another. This is particularly so where Indian and Western thought are concerned. It is true that the Indo-Germanic languages form one group, and at the origin ideas and their associations which the languages express must have been the same or akin. But after the Sanskrit-speaking people separated themselves from those who migrated into Europe the ideas developed so independently that some words having the same root mean differently and those which have apparently the same meaning differ in their associations and deeper significance. This is particularly so in the sphere of the mental; consider, for instance, the word mind itself, with which philosophy is especially concerned.

Urban writes : "Linguists, as distinguished from logicians, have uniformly distinguished other forms of connotation of words than the conceptual. . . Thus Erdmann points that besides the *Bedeutung* of words there is always *Nebenbedeutung*. Both are forms of connotation. The

first is the indirect reference to the ideas with which the word is bound up as sign; the second also is indirect reference, but to the feeling with which the word is bound up as expression. This *Nebenbedeutung* is not referred to a particular emotion, but rather to an accumulated intention, sentiment or mood, and it is because of this accumulated intention, that the reference may properly be called a form of connotation. But Erdmann also distinguishes an intuitive or *anschauliche* connotation from both the conceptual and emotional."[10] This intuition is somewhat like the intuition of melody, not like the intuition of images. Further, "many linguists maintain . . . that for genuine understanding of language there must also be what they describe as 'inner speech-form.' This notion, first introduced into linguistics by von Humboldt to distinguish the unique character of particular languages from the elements common to all languages, is now quite generally used to signify those peculiar patterns which distinguish the linguistic feeling of one people from another."[11] "What, then, are the conditions of understanding of speech or of semantic meaning? Husserl has examined these conditions and finds them to consist of two, namely, *Gestalt* and intention."[12] *Gestalt* is the language pattern and intention is the intention of the person who uses the word to mean something. This meaning is of the above three kinds. The test for a translator, therefore, would be whether his translation flows through the same patterns of linguistic feeling, whether the ideas of his translation produce the same patterns of understanding or thought and how far it reproduces the above three kinds of meaning. Can it

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[10] *Language and Reality*, pp. 139-40.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 124.

[12] *Ibid*, p. 123.

then be in principle possible to bring out the full meaning of philosophical systems in simple translation? Will it not be necessary every now and then to introduce explanatory parentheses? Are not western misunderstandings really due to dependence on translations and inacquaintance with our original thought-patterns? Translation therefore does not mean merely the substitution of one word for another, or one sentence for another, but also of one pattern of linguistic feeling for another and of one pattern of thinking for another. How difficult would a Hindu architect feel if he were asked to construct, using his own patterns of gods, devils and dragons, a temple which would produce the impression of a Gothic cathedral? The work of a translator who wants to present an Indian system of philosophy in English is similar. What the contemporary Indian researcher should realise is that an adequate presentation is not possible without explanatory comparisons,—which means explicit discussion of what is implicitly involved in using a different language. Systematic comparison goes only one step farther, with this advantage that the systematic structure of thought will be made more clearly explicit. The importance of explanatory and also of systematic comparison will be more realised when it is seen that words as verbal signs are mobile and transfer themselves from one object to another, not only from the physical to the physical, but also from the physical to the psychical. The significance which the word Reality has when it is written with a capital R is an example to the point. And it is never possible to confine oneself in translation to the words and concepts of the common people. For, says Joad: "Language was invented to serve the use of the familiar world; it may not readily be invoked to convey the meanings appropriate to another."[13]

[13] *Philosophical Aspects of Modern Science*, p. 307.

Or to quote Whitehead, a greater authority, "literary language breaks down completely in the task of expressing in explicit form the larger generalities."[14] Further, to touch the very fundamentals, the logical structure of thought and the grammatical structure of language are different. Had European logic developed out of Sanskrit, it would probably have not thought of the copula. It took several centuries to realise that the copula has no distinct corresponding element in thought. How difficult would then the translator feel in translating abstract thought from one language into another? Very often we find it necessary not only to say what we mean but also to say what we do not mean. What else do we in essence do when we compare? And if we are to compare, will it not be profitable to carry the comparison wholeheartedly, explicitly and systematically?

V

There is another way of classifying research work in Indian Philosophy, namely, into the historical and the metaphysical. For instance, Vidyabhushan's *History of Indian Logic* is a historical presentation; it traces the growth of Indian logic. But Stcherbatsky's *Buddhist Logic* is a metaphysical treatment; for it gives a metaphysical discussion of the principles. (Indeed, it contains some translations also.) The metaphysical is

[14] *Process and Reality*, p. 14. "The technical language of philosophy represents attempts of various schools of thought to obtain explicit expression of general ideas presupposed by the facts of experience. It follows that any novelty in metaphysical doctrine exhibits some measure of disagreement with statements of facts to be found in current philosophical literature. The extent of disagreement measures the extent of metaphysical divergence. It is, therefore, no valid metaphysical criticism to point out that its doctrines do not follow from the verbal expression of the facts accepted by another school." Whitehead is speaking of two philosophical systems in the same language and of the same age!

certainly more difficult than the historical, particularly when systems are interpreted. For instance, one may trace the development of Rāmānuja's philosophy out of the Pañcarātra; another may expound his principles, when he will use such ideas as identity in difference, organic unity, etc. The latter work is philosophically more important and difficult. How many times must a reader come across writings in which these concepts are applied, without any modification to Rāmānuja's philosophy. And how many readers must have been misled by them? An organic unity in western philosophy is not merely an inseparable unity of parts, but also a unity in which the whole and parts are equally dependent on each other. In identity in difference both identity and difference are equally important. Will Rāmānuja's system be not different at all from the organic conception of the universe of the west?[15] Will not a writer find, if he has to be careful and precise, metaphysical interpretation more taxing than tracing the growth of a system?

But of late this metaphysical presentation and comparative study have assumed undesirable forms. There is manifestation of a zeal to discover all new theories of the west in our ancient thought, which should necessarily produce a distaste for such work in the minds of many deep-thinking scholars and predispose them towards the historical type. One feels it very delicate to give examples when some of the authors are one's friends; yet one's duty to the subject impels one to give a few. It is hoped that it will not be forgotten that philosophical criticism is an academic necessity.

[*To be continued.*

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[15] See the author's "Identities in Difference in Some Vedantic Sentences," *The New Indian Antiquary.*

GLEANINGS FROM SOMADEVASŪRI'S YAŚASTILAKA CAMPŪ

By V. RAGHAVAN

(*Continued from p.* 258)

which is useful as mentioning a person trying to parade his knowledge of the 64 arts and moving in company with the scissors for *Patraccheda* always in hand. Śl. 236: जानन् पत्रच्छेदनम् ।

Pp. 236-7: A number of authorities on various branches of learning are mentioned here:

पारिरक्षक इव प्रसंख्यानोपदेशेषु,
पूज्यपाद इव शब्दैतिह्येषु,
× × ×
अकलङ्कदेव इव प्रमाणशास्त्रेषु,
पणिपुत्र इव पदप्रयोगेषु,
कविरिव राजराद्धान्तेषु,
रोमपाद इव गजविद्यासु,
रैवत इव हयनयेषु,
× × ×
शुकनाश इव रत्नपरीक्षासु,
× × ×
काशिराज इव शरीरोपचारेषु,
× × ×
काव्य इव व्यूहरचनासु,
दत्तक इव कन्तुसिद्धान्तेषु,
चन्द्रायणीश इव अपरास्वपि कलासु etc.

Śrīdeva says that Pārirakṣaka means Yati, a Sannyāsin; probably Pārirakṣaka refers to the author of the *Bhikṣu-sūtras* mentioned by Pāṇini. Pūjyapāda is Devanandin, author of *Jainendravyākaraṇa*. Akalaṅka the Jain logician is wellknown; Śrutadeva says here अकलंकदेवी निष्कलंकस्य भ्राता । Śrīdeva reads पणिपुत्र इव as पाणिपुत्र इव and

both himself and Śrutadeva interpret him as Pāṇini. That Pāṇini's mother was Dākṣī and that his native place was Śālatura are facts already known; and we know from this reference here the name of Pāṇini's father. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya informs me that Pāṇini is referred to in Telugu works (of Śrīnātha and Pedana) as Paṇinasūnu. Kavi, authority on polity, is Bṛhaspati according to Śrīdeva, and Śukra according to Śrutasāgara. Romapāda is the Aṅgarāja, king of the Aṅgas, to whom sage Pālakāpya revealed the elephant-lore. See *Hastyāyurveda* of Pālakāpya, *Ānandāśrama Series* 26; *Mataṅgalīlā* of Nīlakaṇṭha, *TSS*, 10, ch. 1, 4—6, and ch. 12, 28; also *Raghuvaṁśa* VI. 27 and *Agnipurāṇa*, ch. 292, śl. 44, Re. Raivata on horses, both the commentators say that Raivata is the son of Sūrya, Ravisuta. Raivata or Raivanta is the son of Sūrya and Vaḍavā (*Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, ch. 75, śl. 24), and is described as a Guhyaka chief and an Aśvavāhaka with whip in hand. He is worshipped and prayed to for the good of horses; see Jayadatta's *Aśvacikitsā*, *Bib. Ind*. 1886, ch. 7, pp. 85-6, for *Raivatapūjā*. There is also a *Raivatastotra* intended to secure the welfare of horses.[11] Śukanāśa on gems is identified by Śrīdeva and Śrutasāgara as Agastya, and Kāśirāja on medicine as Dhanvantari. Kāvya on military science is Śukra. Dattaka, the Kāmaśāstra authority, is the author who compiled a Vaiśika text for the

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11 See Burnell's *Tanjore Library Catalogue*, p. 200b and Keith's *India Office Catalogue*, p. 758. The *stotra* is given below from the Tanjore *MS*. (Courtesy: Secretary of the Library):

नारद उवाच। रैवतः पार्थिवो वीरः मातृकालो हलोऽरुणः। पञ्चग्रीवोऽश्वपुरुषः पिण्डकी हयवाहकः॥ सूर्यपुत्रो महास्वामी छायाहृदयनन्दनः। नारदानन्दकारी च हृदयशो रणप्रियः॥ भास्वान् रत्नावतीभर्ता निर्भयो भयविघ्नहा। भूतेशस्तर्जनो भद्रो भूतेशो भक्तवत्सलः॥ आरोग्यस्मरणो वैद्यः सर्वरक्षाकरः शिवः। यः कश्चिदिति नामानि अष्टाविंशति संख्यया। अरुणोदयवेलायां पठेद्राजा समाहितः॥ तस्याश्वानां न तु भयं दोषभूतैरुपद्रवैः। स हि वित्तैश्च विभवैः यशोभिरभिवर्धते। अन्यःकोऽपि पठेद्भक्त्या वाञ्छितं तस्य सिद्ध्यति॥ इति शालिहोत्रमुनिप्रोक्तं रैवतस्तोत्रं संपूर्णम्॥

courtezans of Pāṭalīputra (Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtras*, I. i. ii). The Aparakalās then mentioned may be the 64 *Kalās* pertaining to *Samprayoga*, called *Pāñcālikī Catuṣaṣṭi* and associated with *Bābhravya* (*Kāmasūtras*, I. iii. 17 and II. ii). Śrīdeva reads *Candrāyaṇīśa* as *Candrāṇīśa* and interprets the word as meaning Candra. It may also be noted from this context that Bharata, the authority on dance and music, is the son of Ṛṣabhadeva according to the Jain tradition.

P. 249 : भोगावलीपाठकेषु—*Bhogāvalī* is a minor composition intended as a panegyric of a king; other compositions of this class are *Birudāvalī*, *Raṅgaghoṣaṇā*, etc. *Bhogāvalīs* are again referred to on p. 351 where Śrutasāgara wrongly interprets them; see again p. 399—भोगावलीपाठिनः ।

P. 281. The king is addressed as Vikramatuṅga. *Tuṅga* is a Rāṣṭrakūṭa-suffix. See my article on Somadeva in the *New Indian Antiquary*, previously referred to.

P. 291. Some more authorities on elephant-lore are referred to, Ibhacāri, Yājñavalkya, Vāddhali, Nara, Nārada, Rājaputra and Gautama :

इभचारि-याज्ञवल्क्य-वाद्धलि-नर-नारद-राजपुत्र-गौतमादिमहामुनिप्रणीत मतंग जैतिह्य—

Of these we know from the *Matsyapurāṇa* that Rājaputra is an author of a treatise on elephants known after his name as Rājaputrīya, and that Rājaputra is Budha, son of Rājā, moon. *Matsya*. (*Ānandāśrama edn*.) ch. 14. śls. 2-3.

तारोदराद्विनिष्क्रान्तः कुमारश्चन्द्रसन्निभः ।
सर्वार्थशास्त्रविद्धीमान् हस्तिशास्त्रप्रवर्तकः ॥
नाम यद् राजपुत्रीयम् विश्रुतं गजवैद्यकम् ।
राज्ञः सेामस्य पुत्रत्वाद्राजपुत्रो बुधः स्मृतः ॥

No manuscript of the Rājaputrīya has come to light, but as Aufrecht has noted, *Catalogus* I, p. 501b. the Rāja-

putrīya is quoted by Mallinātha on *Raghuvaṁśa* IV. 39. In the same context, Mallinātha quotes another text on elephants called *Mṛgacarmīya;* Ibhacāri mentioned first by Somadeva is perhaps the same, and is a mistake for Ibhacarman. Vāddhali is another authority on elephants; in a later context where again Vāddhali occurs, Śrīdeva says (p. 28b)—वाद्धलिः गजागमाचार्यः। In the introductory portion of the *Hastyāyurveda* of Pālakāpya (*Ānandāśrama* 26, p. 3), we find most of these names Gautama, Rājaputra, Bāṣkali (probably a mistake for Vāddhali), Mṛgaśarman (-carman in Mallinātha's reference), Yājñavalkya and Nārada.

A description of an elephant then follows which shows Somadeva's acquaintance with elephantology.

P. 307. Here begins a display of the author's knowledge of horse-lore.

P. 317. सुकविकाव्यकथाविनोददोहदमाघ—contains a reference to poet Māgha, author of the *Śiśupālavadha*. The passage beginning here shows the author's astrological knowledge.

P. 356. असमसाहसारम्भ—an address found here reminds us of the expression 'असमसाहसैश्च' in the Sangli and Cambay plates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda IV. On p. 562, again, 'Asamasāhasa' appears as the name of a warrior. See my article on Somadeva in the *New Indian Antiquary* already referred to.

Pp. 399-400. A spy named Śaṅkhanaka is introduced, and is heralded by his followers, accomplices in the guise of mendicants, etc., as a pastmaster in creating friendship and enmities. Among his followers the text mentions a category of people called Sanniputras according to the *Kāvyamālā* text. The spy himself is announced as 'Sidhas Sāmedhikaḥ,' a soothsayer whose words come true. Sanniputras, as is clear from Śrīdeva's gloss, is mistake for *Sattriputras*. Sattrins are a class of spies who

go out and by their manifold and out-of-the-way accomplishments in magic, astrology, music, dance, etc., help the plans of the king or try to save the king, and create friendships or enmities as they desire. Śrīdeva says: सत्रिणः मायायोगज्योतिषभरतवैद्यादिविद्याद्वारेण राज्ञो हिताहितपरिजनपरिज्ञान-कुशलाः। सामेधिकः अव्यभिचारिवचनः। On Sattrins and Sāmedhikas, as well as on the expression 'एष सिद्धः सामेधिकः' see *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭalya chs. 11, 141 and 142.

P. 426, verse 171. Somadeva uses here the word 'मास.' and Śrīdeva (p. 13a) interprets it as मातुल. Later, on p. 49 pt. 2., Somadeva uses again मीमीयम् (meaning मातुलीयम् —Śrīdeva (p. 18b). Monier Williams notes in his *Sanskrit Dictionary* both *Māma* and *Māmaka* as meaning an endearing address, as well as uncle, and adds that as an address, it occurs in the *Pañcatantra*. *The St. Petersburg Lexicon* also notes this fact. Among Sanskrit lexicons, *Medinī* and the *Anekārthasaṃgraha* give this word as meaning *Mātula*, maternal uncle. M. Williams suggests the derivation from '*Mama*' mine. The word is very common in Dravidian; in Telugu, it occurs in Nannaya (10th cent.), and in Tamil, the form *Māmān* occurs in Tiruppāvai (7th cent.) and the form *Māmaḍi*, perhaps *Māmān* plus *aḍi* showing reverence, occurs in the Tevāram. In Tamil, it means also father-in-law, and the second instance in Somadeva pt. 2, p. 49, the word is used in the sense of father-in-law. The word Māma occurs also in Haviṣena's *Bṛhatkathākośa* (Dr. A. N. Upādhyāye's edn.)

P. 431. Some kings are here mentioned as having met with death treacherously at the hands of those around them. The names do not appear to be historical.

P. 436. Śl. 183 refers to Traidaṇḍikas, Āhituṇḍikas Kāpālikas and Kauśikas. Of these the Traidaṇḍikas are said to be शिवलिङ्गिनः त्रिकमतानुसारिणः, and Kauśikas, magicians according to the commentary. Hemacandra's lexicon

says that Kauśika is a mendicant in general. The same verse speaks of these recluses as having had initiation in Kharapaṭa's lore, *i.e.*, theft. Śrutasāgara interprets Kharapaṭa as Bhāvaka; what he means is not clear.

P. 441. On pp. 440 ff. Somadeva continues his description of rogues. He speaks of fourteen families of rogues, of which the sixth family, he says, arose from the dust of the feet of षट्प्रज्ञ-s.

This is an interesting reference to a community of men of society whom both Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta refer to in their *Dhvanyāloka* and *Locana*, *Uddyota* IV, pp. 222-3, *N. S. Press* edn. of 1928.

Ānandavardhana mentions these *Ṣaṭprajñas* in connection with cases of expressions where the charming *Vācya* is primary, '*Mukhya*,' and the *Vyaṅgya* is subordinated, '*Guṇībhūta*,' and gives as illustrations the beautiful Prākṛt verses on love composed by the *Ṣaṭprajñas*, *Ṣaṭprajñādigāthās*. Commenting on this in his *Locana*, Abhinavagupta says that these *Gāthās* are called in the circles of Prākṛt poets as "*Aaliā*—अअलिआ" and that *Ṣaṭprajñas* are those *Sahṛdayas* who, living next door to each other and being well-versed in the world, meet together and exchange expressions of wit, lyrical stanzas, etc. And Abhinavagupta cites as an example a *Gāṭhā* of his own *Guru* Bhattendurāja.

Dhvanyāloka :

यदा तु चाटुषु देवतास्तुतिषु वा रसादीनामङ्गतया व्यवस्थानं, हृदयवतीषु च षट्प्रज्ञादिगाथासु कासुचिद् व्यंग्यविशिष्टवाच्यप्राधान्यम्...... । P. 222.

Locana :

हृदयवतीष्विति । 'अअलिया' इ ति प्राकृतकविगोष्ठ्यां प्रसिद्धासु त्रिवर्गोपायोपेयकुशलाः सहृदयाः षट्प्रज्ञाः प्रातिवेश्मिका उच्यन्ते । तद्गाथा यथ भट्टेन्दुराजस्य—

लङ्घिअगअणा फलहीलआओ होन्तु त्ति वड्ढअन्तीए ।
हलिअस्सासिसं पाडिवेस·· ························ ॥

अत्र लङ्घितगगनाःकार्पासलता भवन्त्विति हालिकस्याशिषं वर्धयन्त्या प्रातिवेश्मिकः परनिर्वृतिं प्रापित इति चौर्यसंभोगाभिलाषिणीयमित्यनेन व्यङ्ग्येन विशिष्ट वाच्यमेव सुन्दरम्। Pp. 222-3.

In a gāthā in the *Vajjālaggam* (*Bib. Ind.* edn. pp. 58-9, no. 281), Vidagdha paddhati, Ṣaṭprajña is used in the sense of a Vidagdha and an adept in the art of love-making. यदि कथमपि तेषां षट्प्रज्ञानां तन्वंगि गोचरे पतसि। तदोत्कृष्टवृषभ दहैकमण्डिता दुष्कर जीवसि ॥ (छाया).

In explanation of the name *Ṣaṭprajña* given to these gifted men, Abhinava seems to say that they are so-called because of their knowledge (*Prajñā*) of six (*Ṣaṭ*) things, the *Upāyas* (means) and *Upeyas* (ends) pertaining to *Trivarga* (*Dharma*, *Artha*, and *Kāma*—$3 \times 2 = 6$). Monier Williams says on the basis of some authority that the six things are the four *Puruṣārthas*, *Lokārtha* and *Tattvārtha;* and it is probably the same authority as quoted in the *Śabdakalpadruma* :

धर्मार्थकाममोक्षेषु लोकतत्त्वार्थयोरपि ।
षट्सु प्रज्ञास्ति यस्यौचैः स षट्प्रज्ञ इति स्मृतः ॥

In Abhinava's explanation, there is the omission of Mokṣa, and in Ānandavardhana too, the implication is that the *Ṣaṭprajña* is a man of taste and a worldly wise person. Originally a wise man, then one with much worldly wisdom and taste, then one with a gift for fine expression and enjoyment of good things, the *Ṣaṭprajña* thus gradually underwent a Semantic pejoration until he came to mean a *Viṭa*. The Prākṛt verses he uttered dealt mostly with love and that of the clandestine variety. The lexicons also came to understand him so : The *Trikāṇḍa-śeṣa* quoted in the *Śabdakalpadruma* says—

षिड्गो व्यलीकः षट्प्रज्ञः कामकेलिर्विदूषकः ।

and Keśava's *Kalpadrukośa* says (*GOS*. edn. I, p. 219)

कट्टरश्चाथ षट्प्रज्ञः कामकेलिर्विदूषकः ।

No wonder that Somadeva counts *Ṣaṭprajñas* among men of deceitful behaviour. (षट्प्रज्ञो धूर्तः—Śrīdeva, p. 130; षट्प्रज्ञो विटः—Śrutasāgara).

P. 448. A poet named Aśvattha is mentioned here; here, as well as earlier, a number of poets with imaginative names are introduced. They all appear to be imaginary.

P. 453. A quotation from Kauṭalya's *Arthaśāstra*, referring to the view of Viśālākṣa, *i.e.*, Śiva.

तदाह—'नैकस्य कार्यसिद्धिरस्ति' इति विशालाक्षः ।

Śrutasāgara wrongly says here that Viśālākṣa is a poet—विशालाक्षो नाम कविः । Earlier, on p. 250, Somadeva uses the word Viśālākṣa in the unmistakable sense of Śiva, and there Śrutasāgara does not err.

P. 459. Śl. 239: This verse refers to six poets and scholars, some of whom are familiar names, but we do not know if on this score, Somadeva is to be taken as referring here to existing poets or only to some fictitious persons. The names are Tridaśa, Kohala, Gaṇapati, Śaṅkara, Kumuda and Kekaṭi. Tridaśaviduṣaḥ, it is also likely the first name is not really Tridaśa, but Tridaśavidvān, *i.e.*, Bṛhaspati,—some poet of that name. Śrīdeva has no comments on this verse. Rājaśekhara has praised a Gaṇapati and a Śaṅkara; see *Sūktimuktāvalī*, *GOS.*, pp. 45, 47, 49. Kekaṭi is likely to be an error for केसट or केशट, a poet found in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* and praised by Abhinanda and Vasukalpa. See p. 29, Skt. Intro. to the *Sūktimuktavalī*.

P. 461 ff. Now appears a detailed description of armies of different parts of the country.

Pp. 461—3: Somadeva describes here what he calls Dākṣiṇātya-bala,' Rāṣṭrakūṭa or Cālukya or Karṇāta forces. Some of the features of these soldiers are—

i. Red turbans with a horn-like tapering in the middle.

ii. Closely clipped beards and moustache.

iii. Three-rowed necklaces of many-coloured beads.

iv. Covered necks.

v. Iron bracelets shaped like coiling serpents.

vi. Daggers at waists.

vii. Clothes girded up high at the loins.

viii. Listening as they go to panegyrists who accompany them, singing their glories.

These forces are said to be specially skilled in the varied wielding of weapons.

Dr. N. Venkataramanayya drew my attention to some paintings in the Ellora caves depicting soldiers, and published in Annual Report of H. E. H. the Nizam's Archæological Dept., 1927-28. Some of the features mentioned by Somadeva like the close-cut beard, the horn-like turban and the girt-up clothes can be seen here; as also perhaps the covered necks. On the basis of some inscriptions here, Mr. Hirananda Sastri and Mr. G. Yazdani assign these frescoes to the 12th-13th cen. A.D.

Pp. 463-4. A description of Tamil forces: 'Drāmila-bala.' In the frequent engagements between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Colas, Tamil soldiers must have become a common sight for people like Somadeva. Further, the Yaśastilaka campū itself was written, as has been pointed out already, a few years after a Rāṣṭrakūṭa triumph over the Colas at Tokkolam, in which the Lemulavāḍa Cālukyas must have also taken part on the side of Kṛṣṇa III.

The features distinguishing Tamil soldiers are thus given :

i. A small tuft of hair at the centre of the head, with a low row of curly hair encircling the tuft (kuḍumi and kannukkuḍumi).

ii. Ear-lobes weighed down by heavy resplendent gold ear-rings.

iii. On the ends of their mouth, and on their chin and leg, well-grown hair.

iv. White shiny teeth cleaned every day and which imported a charm to their faces.

v. Swarthy complexion with turmeric paint smeared over the body.

vi. Umbrellas of peacock-feathers held over their heads.

vii. Wooden shields painted red held at their waist.

This army was noteworthy for the billowing and jumping movements of the soldiers, which shows the preponderance of foot-soldiers.

Pp. 464-5 : A description of North Indian soldiers, fair in complexion, armed with blades, spears, swords, and bows, riding in several poses swift steeds, with turbans of variegated hue tied by each along a different part of the head and with flower-clusters mounted on such turbans.

Pp. 465-7 : Tairabhuktaṃ-balam, forces from Tirhut, which comprised contingents of Gauḍa soldiers; the latter are described graphically, and it is said that their clumsiness and frequent stumbling hampered the progress of the army.

The Gauḍas are described as always chewing fried grain, consequently having worn-out and cleft teeth-fronts,

with mouths tinctured by betel-chewing, extremely irascible by temperament, wearing clothes dangling to their feet, thanks to which they fell at every step and got the abuse of those marching nearby, and having long tufts of hair.

The Tairabukta army was feeling encumbered with these Gauḍas; they had many elephants, the soldiers carried shields woven in multi-coloured fibre, waved their sabres, and were great adepts in warfare in water-logged places, rivers, etc.

This intimate knowledge of Gauḍa and Tīrabhukta forces goes only to strengthen my contention in my article on Somadeva in the *NIA* that Somadeva originally belonged to the Gauḍasaṅgha and was perhaps connected with the Bodhgayā Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

P. 467. Gūrjara army: The features of these soldiers from Gujarat are:

i. Dhoties hanging down up to the knees.

ii. Daggers mounted on handles of buffalo-horns at their waists.

iii. Bushy growth of hair all over the body providing so to say a hairy armour.

iv. Hanging locks of hair and moustache hiding their noses and ears.

v. High quivers of arrows on both shoulders making them appear as having three heads.

These soldiers are said to be greatly skilled in archery.

P. 469. The text mentions here Coladeśa; Śrutasāgara says चोलश्च मञ्जिष्ठादेशभूपः। Mañjiṣṭhā is the Red Indian Madder, Rubia Manjista; according to the Rājanirghaṇṭa, one of the four varieties of this herb is called Cola, *i.e.*, that peculiar to the Cola country. See *Śabdakalpadruma*. In Tamil, it is called Sevvelai.

P. 471. A list of authorities on Arthaśāstra is given: Guru, *i.e.*, Bṛhaspati, Śukra, Viśālākṣa, Parīkṣit, Parāśara, Bhīma, Bhīṣma and Bharadvāja. Of these, Bṛhaspati, Śukra (Uśanas), Viśālākṣa (Śiva), Parāśara, Bhīṣma (Kauṇapadanta) and Bharadvāja are referred to by Kauṭalya himself. The works of Viśālākṣa and Parāśara are both quoted in Viśvarūpa's commentary on Yājñavalkya-smṛti. See Mm. Ganapati Sastri's Introduction to his edn. of the Arthaśāstra in the *TSS.*, Vols. I and II. Ganapati Sastri identifies Bharadvāja as Droṇācārya; he may more probably be Kaṇika or Kaṇiṅka who gives unscrupulous advice to Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Duryodhana in the Mahābhārata, Ādiparvam, and whom Kauṭalya also refers to in V. 5. 93, 'क्रौञ्चोऽपसव्यमिति कणिङ्को भारद्वाजः ।' See Mbh. Ādi., *Kumbhakonam edn.* 153, Śls. 2—3 and 6.

The rare names given by Somadeva are Parīkṣit and Bhīma.

Śrutasāgara adds three more names Vallabhadeva, Vyāsa and Nārada; of these Vyāsa is well-known, and Nārada is Kauṭalya's Piśuna. Vallabhadeva's work is not yet known.

P. 473. Śl. 259: अष्टशाखम् etc., gives a topical epitome of the Arthaśāstra. 8 Śākhas according to the two commentators are Ari, Vijigīṣu, Madhyama and Udāsīna with reference to Ari and Mitra, *i.e.*, 2×4=8. 4 Mūlas, Sāma, Dāna, Bheda, Daṇḍa. 60 Patras, a dozen items, Ari, Vijigīṣu, Svamitra, Arimitra, and so on multiplied by 5 Prakṛtis, Amātya, Rājya, Durga, Kośa, and Bala. 2 Sthānas, Daiva and Puruṣakāra. 6 flowers: Sandhi, Vigraha, Yāna, Āsana, Samśraya, and Dvaidhībhāva. 3 fruits: Sthāna, Kṣaya and Vṛddhi.

In the same context occurs the expression 'Āvāpa'; Śrīdeva interprets it as 'Paramaṇḍalacintā'.

Then follows a description of Nāṭya, Kāvya and Sarasvatī.

P. 476. Śl. 266: mentions Bhāva, Rasa, Nṛtya (Abhinayas), Vṛtti, Pravṛtti, Siddhi, Svaras and Ātodya which closely follows the verse of Bharata in Nāṭyaśāstra, ch. vi. (śl. 10).

रसा भावा ह्यभिनयाः धर्मीवृत्तिप्रवृत्तयः ।
सिद्धिस्स्वराः तथातोद्यं गानं रङ्गश्च सङ्ग्रहः ॥

In Somadeva's verse line 2 reads

वर्ण्या सिद्धजनैः, नभश्चरगणैर्वृत्त्या, प्रवृत्त्या सुरैः ।

Here Varṇyā is meaningless and is therefore an error for 'धर्म्या' and we miss the topic Dharmī (Nāṭyadharmī and Lokadharmī) if we do not take this correction.

P. 479. Śl. 274: त्रिमूलत्लम् etc.—A topical summary of poetics:

3 Mūlas: Śrīdeva gives them as Śakti, Vyutpatti and Abhyāsa.

2 Stems (Dvidhotthāna): Śabda and Artha.

5 Boughs: 5 Vṛttis, Madhurā, Prauḍhā, Paruṣā, Lalitā and Bhadrā.

See my book, *Some Concepts of Alaṅkāra Śāstra*, ch. on Vṛtti, p. 191. (Adyar Library Series).

4 Leaves: 4 Rītis, Vaidarbhī, Gauḍīyā, Pāñcālī and Lāṭīyā. Śrīdeva quotes here Rudraṭa on these Rītis.

9 Chāyās: According to Śrīdeva who again quotes Rudraṭa, the 9 shades are the 9 Alaṅkāras, 5 of Śabda and 4 of Artha, Vakrokti, Anuprāsa. Yamaka, Śleṣa, Citra, Vāstava, Aupameya, Atiśaya and Śleṣa.

Śrutasāgara, however, takes the 9 chāyās as the 9 Rasas.

10 Bhūmis: The 10 Rasas according to Śrīdeva; the 9 Rasas plus Preyas, where again Rudraṭa is followed.

Somadeva illustrates Preya Rasa by the affection existing between two individuals of the same sex, as between Rama and Lakṣmaṇa :

प्रेयान्नाम रसो रामलक्ष्मणयोरिव पुरुषयोः परस्परप्रीत्याश्रयः । P. 146.

Śrutasāgara takes the number 10 here as referring to the 10 Guṇas, Śleṣa, Prasāda, etc.

P. 480. कदाचित् नियत वृत्ति वर्ण पद × × ×

जिन, जैमिनि, कपिल, कणचर, चार्वाक, शाक्य प्रणीत × × × ×

The word Vṛtti here is interpreted in both commentaries as Samāsa (वृत्तिः षड्विधः समासः p. 146). On Vṛtti meaning Samāsa, see my *Some Concepts of Alaṅkāra Śāstra*, pp. 191-2.

Regarding the Darśanakāras mentioned here, Śrutasāgara says : जैमिनिश्च भट्टः । चार्वाकश्च नृवाकृशिष्यः नास्तिकः । कणचरः अक्षपादः शिवमतानुसारी । According to Śrutasāgara, the reading in the text here includes mention of Kaulika before Śākya, or according to him, Kaulika or Kulācārin is included in the Cārvāka. Regarding the number of Pramāṇas accepted by each of these, Śrutasāgara refers us to the work *Nyāyakumudacandrodaya*.

P. 483. Another reference to authorities on elephants :—मरीचि, मतङ्ग, मृगशर्मादि महामुनि etc. The paragraphs which follow show Somadeva's knowledge of elephant-lore.

Pp. 507—521. In connection with bath and eating, Somadeva exhibits his knowledge of Vaidyaśāstra.

P. 509. śl. 328 mentions the following authorities on Vaidya, Cārāyaṇa, Timi, Dhiṣaṇa (Bṛhaspati) and Caraka, as advocating eating respectively in night, evening, noon and morning. But this is at variance with Vātsyāyana, *Kāmasūtra* I. 4 20—सायं चारायणस्य ।

Pp. 528—532. Description of Yantradhārāgṛha, the bathing garden and pavilion, furnished with various mechanical contrivances to carry and sprinkle water, and worked with carvings of different human, divine, animal

and bird figures, all indulging in water-sports. These and other Yantras, I am dealing with in a separate Study.

P. 548. Here ends a description of the rainy season by a poet named Akālajalada—इत्यकालजलदवन्दिविनोद्यमानमनाः। Akālajalada happens to be a historical name, and Rājaśekhara refers to him as his great-grandfather and as 'Mahārāṣṭra Cūḍāmaṇi.' See the Prastāvana to Rājaśekhara's *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, and *Sūkti muktāvali*, *GOS.*, p. 46, verses 83-4, eulogies of Rājaśekhara on Akālajalada.

P. 567. 'चैद्यसुन्दरीविनोदकन्दलः', occurring in a description of the king may be taken to echo the historical fact that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Cedis were related by marriage, and Amoghavarṣa III and Kṛṣṇa III of the former were sons-in-law of the Cedis. See my article on Somadeva in *NIA*.

P. 580-2. A number of musical instruments are mentioned here: Śaṅkha, Kāhala, Dundubhi, Puṣkara, Ḍhakkā, Ānaka, Bhambhā, Karata, Trivila, Damaruka, Ruñjā, Jayaghaṇṭā, Venu, Vīṇā and Jhallarī.

Pp. 596-7. Praise of Aparājitā Devī called also Ambikā and interpreted by Śrutasāgara as Āmrā Devī and Kūṣmāṇḍinī, and reference to the *Mahānavamī* festival in her honour.

Pp. 597-9. The Mahānavamī is followed by the Dīpotsava. Houses are whitewashed and decorated with white festoons; music, merry-making and gambling go on; the tops of houses are bright with rows of lights. This festival is in the Śarat season.

P. 599. After this, the king practises Archery (Dhanurvidyā).

P. 606. Description of darkness :—दुर्जनजनचेष्टितमिव समस्तमुच्चमवचं च वस्तु समतां नयति Compare Kālidāsa, *Kumārasambhava*, VII. 57 :

शुद्धमाविलमवस्थितं चलं वक्रमार्जवगुणान्वितं च यत्।
सर्वमेव तमसा समीकृतं धिङ्महत्त्वमसतां हतान्तरम्॥

P. 607. Śl. 476. A reference to the custom of expiatory observance to remove effects of an evil eye,—*Dṛṣṭiparihāra*, such as swinging of salt in front of the king, and then throwing it in fire so that the salt may crack loudly,—a custom widely prevalent even now; then there is mention of offering of Bali (food) and worship for propitiating Rākṣasas who begin to be at large during the night.

[*To be Continued.*

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Introduction to Indian Textual Criticism by Dr. S. M. Katre, M.A., Ph.D. (London), with Appendix II by Mr. P. K. Gode, M.A., published by Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay, 1941. Pp. xiii+148. Price Rs. 3/8/-.

The book under review deals with the main principles of textual criticism showing the proper methods of the critical editing of texts. In other words, it shows with reference to Indian conditions the principal features of the science of textual criticism, in so far as it can be a science, which may enable editors to master the modern methods of critical editing. It is necessary for every scholar of Indian thought to equip himself in this art. We have to admit that Western scholars are much more advanced in this art and no effort was so far made to draw the attention of Indian scholars to this sort of training.

We congratulate Dr. S. M. Katre and Mr. P. K. Gode for presenting to the world of Indian scholarship their experiences in this art in such an interesting form. The book has been very carefully divided into eight chapters. The authors have explained the principles of the science of critical editing and have given practical hints for the same. All these hints are based on actual experiences which they have picked up in the course of their multifarious activities in this field.

Besides, the book contains several very useful Appendices. The first Appendix deals with a glossary of some important terms used in textual criticism. The most important appendix is the second which gives us a brief note on the history and progress of cataloguing of Sanskrit and other MSS. in India and outside (between

A.D. 1800 and 1941). It is needless to say how important it is to have before us all the possible information regarding the MSS. catalogues. Mr. P. K. Gode has taken the advantage of his long experience in giving us a chronological list of these catalogues with such other details as are necessary for any research work. This is followed by the description of some important manuscripts and some critical editions which help us to see how the canons of scientific editing can be easily applied to Indian works.

No doubt the book cannot claim to be quite exhaustive, but it is a fact that it is a very successful attempt in this direction. The book will, undoubtedly, help the students and scholars alike to equip themselves in this art.

SUKTHANKAR MEMORIAL EDITION, VOL. I. CRITICAL STUDIES IN THE MAHABHARATA, by the late Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, M.A., Ph.D., published by Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay. Pp. xi+440. Price Rs. 15.

The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute has done great service to Indian scholarship by unfolding its treasures in various ways. But the most important work which it has undertaken and wherein it has achieved distinction is the critical editing of the *Mahābhārata*. Though the work was undertaken in 1919, it was in 1925 that Dr. V. S. Sukthankar took charge of the work as its General Editor and reorganised it on a sound basis. For about 17 years he worked on it and brought international honour to himself and to the Institute. But unfortunately, before he could achieve much more distinction, suddenly he had to leave for the other world.

This led his friends to perform a very honorable duty of publishing a Memorial Edition of his published writings in separate volumes. The book under review is its first volume. His *Prolegomena* to the Ādiparvan of the *Mahābhārata*, the bed-rock of the Mahābhārata Textual Criticism, was much in demand since its first publication. The present volume contains it along with the other Epic Studies of Dr. Sukthankar. It contains several valuable articles on Epic Studies which speak for themselves. The volume is indeed a great proof of the depth of scholarship and hard labour of Dr. Sukthankar. He has shown what a vast amount of labour and patience is required for doing a serious work. When a reader goes through the pages of this volume, he becomes astonished to see the vast material lying hidden in the Epics. The critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* is indeed a tremendous task and the labours of the late Dr. Sukthankar have shown how that task can be crowned with success. Love for scholarship alone can be the guiding diety for such a work. It requires ability, depth of knowledge, and above all, great patience to achieve success. Sukthankar had all these qualities and it is a matter of great consolation that the Institute has been able to secure the services of a very experienced scholar who will maintain the standard laid down by his predecessor. It is enough to say that the study of this volume is indispensable for the study of the Epics. The editors deserve hearty congratulations for such an attempt.

BULLETIN OF THE DECCAN COLLEGE RESEARCH INSTITUTE, POONA. 1943-44, Vol. V. Pp. 329. Price Rs. 16.

The present volume of the *Bulletin* is intended to commemorate the connection of the late Dr. V. S. Sukthankar with the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute. Though not very old, the *Bulletin* has established a good reputation of the Institute in the field of research.

The present volume mainly deals with the various aspects of Epic Studies. Though the critical study of the Epic is being done mainly under the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, yet the nature of the task is of such magnitude that enough scope is left for work to be done elsewhere. Here is an attempt which shows how the study of the great Epic can be carried independently and successfully in other centres of research as well.

The volume contains valuable information on Epic Studies from the ancient period down to the present day. Each and every article is quite informative and interesting. The articles of Professors Karve, Sankalia and Apte are very interesting. One can easily understand the importance of our Epics from the article of Shaikh Chānd Husain. We know how much interested some of the Muslims were in our ancient lore. In the introduction to the Persian translation of the *Mahābhārata* by Abu'l Faidi, his brother says that it is an attempt to remove the misunderstanding of the Muslims regarding the Hindu religion that my brother is translating this great Epic of the Hindus (*vide* the MS. in possession of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute).

The present number of the *Bulletin* is thus an important addition to Epic studies and is very useful for reference.

PROGRESS OF INDIC STUDIES, 1917—1942, edited by Dr. R. N. Dandekar, M.A., Ph.D., and published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona (Silver Jubilee), 1942. Pp. 406. Price Rs. 8.

With the foundation of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in 1917 Indian Scholars got an inspiration for work in the history of Indological Studies. It became a sort of nucleus for the growth of higher studies in different branches of Sanskrit learning. Original contributions were made towards the advancement of knowledge, rare and important works were edited and traditional learning came to be recognised along with critical scholarship. So the authorities of the Institute on the solemn occasion of the celebration of its Silver Jubilee thought it proper to undertake a survey of the progress made in Indic Studies, in India and outside, during the last twenty-five years. They received sympathetic response from the scholars and the present volume is a result of their cooperation.

It contains twelve sections: (1) Vedic studies, by Dr. R. N. Dandekar, (2) Iranian Studies by Dr. J. M. Unvala, (3) Epic and Puranic Studies by Dr. A. D. Pusalker, (4) Prakrit Studies by Dr. A. M. Ghatage, (5) Classical Sanskrit Literature by the late Dr. H. D. Sharma, (6) Ancient Indian History and Archæology by Dr. H. D. Sankalia, (7) South-Indian Archæology and Epigraphy by Mr. R. S. Panchamukhi, (8) Greater Indian Research by Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, (9) Linguistics in India by Dr. S. K. Chatterji, (10) Indian Sociology in relation to Hindu Dharma-śāstra by Dr. P. Valavolkar, (11) Indian Philosophy by Dr. P. T. Raju, and (12) Study of Manuscripts by Professor Chintaharan Chakravarti.

Most of the sections have been very well written. Their authors have taken great pains to deal with almost

all the important aspects of their special branches of studies. Vedic, Ancient Indian History, Greater Indian Research, Linguistics and Indian Sociology Sections deserve special mention. Within the limited space they give us an all-round information regarding the progress made during the period. Though limited in scope, the volume provides a good material for writing a critical history of Indian literature. Classical Sanskrit literature section should have been much more exhaustive. Considering the nature and scope of the section, it would have been much more useful, if it were split up into several parts and entrusted to more than one scholar. The same may be said regarding some other important sections. However, the present volume is a very good attempt and will prove useful for research work in any branch of Indic learning.

HINDU PHILOSOPHY AND MODERN SCIENCES, by Rai Bahadur Ram Chandra, M.A., P.E.S. (Retd.). Published by Sharada Mandir Book Depôt, Nai Sarak, Delhi. Pp. x+232. Price Rs. 2/8/-.

There has been, of late, a great deal of speculative activity in the hinterland of science. The baffling facts encountered in nuclear Physics and Biology have forced the more thoughtful among the scientists to turn their attention to the foundations of scientific knowledge, and the researches in higher mathematics and mathematical physics have raised problems bearing on the fundamentals of scientific method. The works of Jeans, Eddington, Schrödinger, Heisenberg, Parsons, Whitehead, Woodger, Vexhill and others on the philosophical aspects of science and scientific method have opened up a new field for investigation. The old notions about the nature of "matter," "causality" and "determinism," "space and

time'' and many other concepts are being called into question. Their inadequacy is being shown, and the need for introducing the concept of *purpose* is being felt.

R. B. Ram Chandra is one of the daring band of pioneers having courage enough to challenge the ''dogmas'' of science. In twelve well-written chapters the learned author has indicated clearly the bearing of Indian philosophical thought on the perplexing problems of contemporary science. The structure of the Universe, the Status of Man in it, the rôle of Causation are some of the major topics discussed in these chapters. But the most valuable contribution of the work lies in the discussion of the ''Universe as Creator's Glory and Creation'' and in the manner in which the learned author demonstrates the reality of the ''Controller'' of the world process. It is in this demonstration that the puzzled minds of the contemporary philosophical scientists will find a clue for the solution of the many problems that face them. The monograph is marked by unity of purpose, clarity of thought, and consistency of argument. Illuminating quotations from original sources are given in profusion. The concluding chapter gives us a Résumé of the whole work. The book under review is one more space in the bridge that is being thrown across the gulf that separates Science from Philosophy and Religion. And this *space* is of special interest to us as it has been built by *Hindu* hands out of *Hindu* materials.

Hindu Philosophy and Modern Sciences should be read by every student of science in our country, and it should find a place on the shelves in the library of every cultured Hindu home.

—*P. S. Naidu.*
